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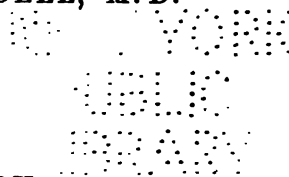
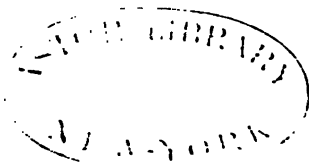
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HISTORY
OF THE
PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE,

**FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION TO
THE PRESENT TIME.**

BY G. DE FÉLICE,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT MONTAUBAN.

TRANSLATED,
WITH AN INTRODUCTION,
BY HENRY LOBDELL, M.D.



NEW YORK:
EDWARD WALKER, 114 FULTON STREET.
1851.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851,
BY EDWARD WALKER,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern
District of New York.

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REV. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D.,

ABBOT PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

IN THE

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

AN ABLE AND EARNEST DEFENDER OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, AND A
FRIEND OF THE

HUGUENOTS,

This Volume is respectfully Inscribed,

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THERE is no solid basis for civil liberty but in a vital Christianity. Philosophy and history alike confirm the proposition. The right of private judgment lies at the foundation of both civil and religious freedom; any system which disregards this truth is destined to perish. The Gospel is adapted to man's wants, individual and social; it is the grand panacea for governmental oppression—the gift of God whereby to elevate and dignify humanity. Its principles are democratic, allowing freedom of opinion, the supremacy of conscience, final obligation, not to government, but God. A vitalized Christianity is linked with civil liberty, as love is with the Gospel. They walk together, and when dissevered, die.

The pivot on which a community turns is its religious faith. All progress is by means of *ideas*; if it is genuine, it is the offspring of the Christian religion. The motive power in *all* social ameliorations is the religious sentiment. This is true in all the great movements of history—God is in them. Social changes demand a corresponding religious renovation. The rumbling heard among the nations portends some better day for serfs and bondmen than has yet dawned. The popular mind is awaking—ideas are more potent than the sword. It is a matter of infinite importance what form of religion becomes dominant upon the continent of Europe. Light bursts forth wherever the Scriptures are diffused; blind eyes will open, and once let the true character of the Romish hierarchy be fully understood, and its blood-stained steps will advance no further on the soil where men are earnest for the enjoyment of a rational civil and religious freedom. As in the days of Luther, the cry is again—Reform! But the reformation must be a radical renovation in the *religious* sentiment of the people. Dogma must give place to spirit, and primacy to love.

Roman Catholicism is the sworn enemy of liberty. It is linked indissolubly with absolutism. Hence every aspiration for freedom becomes a

damnable heresy. Thought must be chained; no one can discern the truth for himself; he must be subject to authority. Truth is a glorious orb; it has a divine unity. The principle of authority, declaring man incompetent to decide his duty, strikes at all investigation. He who may not judge of truth in one part of its manifestation, must not in another. Hence truth in its relations to religion and society is attacked by Popery;—science, art, politics, religion, have no impulse from within; there is no vitality, the heart is dead, the members wither.

Primacy in Church involves the idea of absolutism in State, and herein lies the absurdity of the doctrine of spiritual authority. Doubtless both Church and State are coeval with human history; both are institutions of God. It is evident that the mere will of a majority cannot make a thing right, any more than the mere will of an individual; yet the dictates of universal reason are surer than the judgment of one fallible man. The time is hastening when the divine right of kingship will be universally acknowledged subordinate to the diviner right of popular sovereignty. Law is the only safeguard of the universe; but not every one is a lawgiver for others. The State, as such, has the right; the Church has the right; but the Church is not a hierarchy, nor the State a despotism. Civil liberty demands law for its security—law not derived from priest or king, but law enacted by power delegated by subjects having an independent judgment and a conscience answerable to God alone.

The Roman Catholic system is unfavorable to the physical prosperity of a state. The history and present condition of Southern Europe afford a sufficient demonstration of this fact. The explanation is easy. The Papacy represses freedom of thought and independence of opinion: it weakens the sense of personal responsibility and the motives to individual exertion: and its baneful influence thus extends over the whole physical life and every department of industry. The spiritual and temporal interests of men alike require independence of thought, and liberty of action, controlled by protective, not oppressive law.

The system is a baptized Paganism without its freedom. A decree of the Pope is stronger than a law of the human mind. It is a materializing scheme. It brings angels to earth, instead of lifting humanity to heaven. It reduces the most spiritual truths to sensible proof, and entirely supersedes the use of reason. The distinguishing attribute of manhood is thus stripped away, and a brutal thoughtlessness or fanatical superstition usurps the throne of the intellect and guides the will. The full-grown man at his dissolution still lies in swaddling-clothes: poison has been his nourishment: it has consigned him to a moral death. Thus the mental powers are dwarfed, the soul is contracted, society remains at a stand—there is no development, no divine life, to inspire the souls of men with holy ambition, and elevate them into companionship with God.

Popery shuts out all true progress, and leaves man to-day as he was in the dark ages. Its support lies in submission, not in liberty. It is a despotism,

not only grinding down the soul on earth, but leading its victims into hell. It is a monstrous excrescence on the body of Christianity: it may be endured for a time, but it shall not poison the life-blood of the freedom-giving Gospel. Let it be cut off; there shall be no pain, no wound in the body of Christ. God has made mankind individually responsible to Him, and therefore He has given every man the right to the full development of all the holy impulses of an awakened and regenerated soul. Romanism denies the instinctive demands of human nature, and the prerogatives granted by the Gospel. The chain must drop; government must be made a means, not an end; then *liberty regulated by law* shall afford humanity an asylum and a home.

Though man was made to love, to trust, and to depend, and though his highest nobleness, his largest freedom, consists in subjection—subjection to the true and the right—he yet has a natural independence which is consistent with perfect dependence on the Deity alone. Rome has assumed an authority which must at no distant day be laid aside. Her shackles cannot forever bind the spirit of man moved on by the Spirit of God. The Roman church is opposed to the true interests of mankind, and though she is capable of rising, under favorable circumstances, to an elevation which may command respect; it is yet evident, that all institutions which disregard man's supreme good must fall. No apocalyptic vision is necessary to convince the thoughtful, that such a religious tyranny must perish. The torch of Error shall become pale before the sun of Truth. The triumph of free principles is incompatible with papal supremacy even in spiritual matters. The pontiff may be sagacious enough to regulate his policy in such a manner that liberalized minds will not at once arise in their might against his authority. But as sure as there is a "Divinity that shapes our ends," and makes them subserve his plan for the progressive developments of human society, so sure is it, that the day is coming, when the Romish church shall give up its claim of spiritual dominion—and that day will be witness of its death.

Romanism loves power—its very element is dogmatism. Monarchy is its birth-place and its home. Hence its influence and spirit are directly against republicanism. If it thrives in a republic, it will seek with all its strength to transform the government into an absolutism. Hence, it is peculiarly inimical to American institutions. We are not of those who tremble for the downfall of our republic by *this* foe. Least of all are we fearful that Popery will forever triumph against reason and truth.

" Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers."

Our government requires the diffusion of knowledge among the masses. Every citizen must be a man, forming his own judgment conformably to his free moral principle. Each has a personal interest in the soil. The very nature of a republic requires of its voters the independence of their moral sense: it demands men who yield their opinions to argument, and not to

authority; their souls to God, and not to his *soi-disant* vicegerent. The surest defence of our institutions lies in the spread of knowledge, virtue, and true religion. Our countrymen must be patriots, loving liberty; they must be rational in mind and liberal in heart, making their bodies fit temples for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost; and clad in such armor, the freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion, which they now enjoy, is forever secure.

The Roman Catholic system has, perhaps, rendered some service to mankind. But God has tolerated it for the same reason that he did those laws of Moses which Christ condemned—the hardness of men's hearts. Let us, in our love for the deluded victims of spiritual oppression, heap coals of fire upon the head of this living error; let us scatter the light of the Bible athwart the darkness of the nations, that this era of religious liberty may be still more glorious, while we rejoice in the progress of those principles which give assurance that the altar of the God of mercy shall never again be reddened with the bigot's brand, nor crimsoned with the martyr's blood.

Socialism is the other extreme of Catholicism, and at the present day its doctrines require a vigorous resistance. Both systems subordinate the individual to the civil or religious society. The State is to the one what the Church is to the other. According to Socialism, the State believes and acts for us, like the one collective being—the Church—in the religious world. The pantheism of Socialism makes man his own end, to be governed only by reason and will: the superstition of Catholicism aims to set man in the place of God; it allows the Deity to touch man externally, but there is no divine union, no interior life which He communicates. In the former scheme, the state, or society, is a kind of mint where the thoughts and souls of all are to be stamped alike: in the latter the hierarchy performs the same office: each effaces individuality and liberty, and develops a system fitted only for perfect beings, among whom individual and general freedom would ever coincide. In the one, man needs no loving Father: in the other, he is too degraded to come near the Godhead, but through the consecrated priest. Sovereignty has passed from Deity to him. Hence, the principle of love is annihilated; God is too remote to be more than a blank. Thus it is that extremes meet. We cannot love a mere abstraction: no more can we love man in a system which substitutes humanity for the individual. Catholicism and Socialism are alike in the absorption of man's individuality. In the former system man is reformed when he is Catholic: in the latter he is reformed with the reformation of institutions. There is no soul in either system;—the temporal shuts out the eternal.

Even Protestantism, while combating with Atheism, Deism, Romanism, and Socialism, has lost that vigor and purity which it once possessed. Its followers are not sufficiently permeated and consecrated with the spirit of the Gospel. While it grants the right of private judgment, it connects this right with a higher religious principle. Independence of thought and action is the

proper atmosphere of the spiritual being. But when Protestantism loses sight of God and the cross, it forgets that love alone, such love as was exhibited in Emmanuel, is the only efficient regenerative power on earth. It is no longer a problem—it is a demonstrated *fact*—that the Christians of this age have no higher duty than that of infusing into all the social and spiritual interests of mankind the divine principles and spirit of an evangelical Christianity. The freedom to which the nations aspire, and which is certain to become the basis of civil society, is a direct consequence—a necessary development of the Gospel scheme. He who loves not his neighbor as himself, has in him the germ of tyranny, and hence of slavery. True liberty and the Christian spirit are inseparable.

“ He is the freeman, whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves beside.”

The Translator presumes that a few facts will be interesting to the readers of this volume, with regard to Professor De Félice's professional career, and his standing among the *littérati* of his country. And he would here express his heart-felt obligations to his friend, the Rev. Leon Pilatte, M. A., of Paris, and to the Rev. Robert Baird, D. D., for their encouragement of this undertaking, and their kindness in communicating to him many valuable suggestions.

Though a native of Switzerland, Prof. De Félice has passed the whole of his ministerial life in France. Educated at Lausanne, he was for several years the pastor of a Protestant church at Bolbec, a town about fourteen miles from Havre on the road to Paris. He left that place to accept a professorship in the Protestant Theological Seminary of the “Reformed Church” established at Montauban. He has occupied the professor's chair for the last twelve years. He is not far from forty-five years of age—a man of decided talent, much acquired knowledge, and a great acquaintance with the moral and political state of the Continent, and possesses remarkable facility in writing. No other Protestant minister in France writes so much, says Dr. Baird, for the journals—of his native land, of England, and of this country. He has been a regular correspondent of the New York Observer during the last twenty years, and has also written much for the religious papers of Great Britain during the same time. “I know few men who are more industrious, and more *habile*, as the French say, in all that he does.”

He has published various works, among which those most worthy of remark, are: 1. *An Appeal to Literary Men*;—an eloquent plea in favor of Christian principles, addressed to those who seldom attend the preaching of the Gospel. The style and manner as well as the subject of this volume, are well worthy of the attention of those for whom it was designed. 2. *Caution to the Reformed Churches of France against Universalism*. 3. Two small works entitled, *The Book of the Villagers*, and *The Voice of the Bible Colporteur*. But he has deposited in the *Semeur*, a weekly journal published at Paris, the best productions of his lucid intellect. During the whole continuance of this re-

markable journal (1832-1850) he has been a collaborator; and while VINET, the great Christian thinker and finished writer, treated with a master's hand the high questions of Christian philosophy, De Félice threw upon the political and social questions of the times the lights of a mind at once comprehensive and practical.

Prof. De Félice is not only a good writer; he is also a distinguished preacher, capable of the finest *mouvemens* of eloquence. Many regret that he has in part left the pulpit for the professorship or composition.

Few men among the Protestants in France, says one intimately acquainted with him, are more useful or more respected than Dr. De Félice. He is a man of decided religious convictions, well established in the truth, very liberal in his political opinions, and yet no friend to anarchical principles or lawless measures;—would that that great and important country possessed many like him. It is not a baseless prediction, that his name will one day be ranked among those of the devoted and successful laborers for God, which adorn the annals of French Protestantism. He toils like one who feels

“ 'Tis infamy to die and not be missed.”

His *History*, now translated for the American public, owes its origin, says Mr. Pilatte, to a competition offered a few years ago by the Society of Toulouse for the publication of religious books. M. De Félice gained the prize, but he has since remodelled and reconstructed his work almost entirely. This fact may be important for the correct appreciation of this *History*. A work written for a prize, and designed to be accepted by a society of the character of the American Tract Society, cannot have the free pace of a production spontaneous and entirely personal. And yet we would not assert that it would have been more valuable to the world than it is presumed it will be in its present form. Many appreciations and judgments would, doubtless, have been added to the history if it had originated under other circumstances; the interest would have been, without doubt, less general, but perhaps much more intense. The severest animadversion which can be made upon it, there is reason to believe, is that of the French critic who pronounces it “too *objective*. It is a *recital* rather than what modern science calls a *history*.” There may be some justice in this criticism, yet the translator ventures to predict, that whoever peruses the volume will be convinced that it is not a mere collection of dry bones, but a very resurrection of the martyrs ascending again from the fires of persecution, the ladder reaching into heaven. It is the record of the interior life of the French Reformers. The author has brought before us all the scenes of that grand drama of France, with a skill, a verity, and a fidelity, irreproachable; and this is the chief merit of his work.

The great lessons of history are found mostly upon the surface. And yet a bare compilation of facts, however logically strung together, cannot be a true history. It is void of vitality; it fails of the historian's proper object—to

communicate a vivid apprehension of events in their relations to the course of Providence, as displayed in the government of men. History is the record of the Creator's journeyings on earth. Or, in the emphatic language of the renowned Schlegel, it "constitutes the fourth revelation of God." It is a map of the Divine mind, stained with the blood and scalding tears of erring humanity. It is not an account of wars and martial heroes, dynasties and battles; it is the development of the political, social, and religious progress of mankind. It is not related to the visible and tangible alone; but it seeks to unfold by the aid of these the law of Providence in the succession of opinions and the expansion of the human mind. Hence, the use of history is not to pile upon the mind a cumbrous load of *facts*, but to permeate it with well-established principles—to gather wisdom for the future from the experience of the past. Man must be studied, not things; moral ends must be subserved, or the historian fails of his appropriate mission.

He who is unacquainted with the history of the continent of Europe, as it has unfolded during the last four centuries, cannot understand the present condition of the upheaving nations. The remark is general—the Past is the key to the Present. Let the impregnable facts of history be read aright, and it will be plainly seen, that human interests and motives do not embrace the whole of it; here is a sphere of Divine justice and a province of the Divine kingdom. These facts contain the grandest instruction. Hence, every original presentation of historic truths demands the gratitude of all who thereby become their recipients.

This History of the French Protestants is not less a philosophy than a history; for its facts are recorded in an order so philosophical that it will be difficult for an ordinary individual to read any one page without deriving some valuable suggestion or impulse towards the right. The volume, it is believed, supplies what has been long desired—a complete view of the Protestant churches of France, from their origin to the present time. Prof. De Félice has devoted much attention to his work during several years, and has had rare advantages for procuring materials. "I am quite sure," says Dr. Baird, "that after it has appeared, the religious world will not soon desire another History of Protestantism in France."

The present epoch is full of changes in its political and religious aspects. What the revolutions of Europe will develop, we must leave to "God and time." Meanwhile, every believer in the omnipotence of the truth, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, will have faith that the blood poured out for the cause of God is not fruitless. The time is fast hastening—it has already come—when the assertion made by D'Aubigné shall be true no more: "Religion is so little known in France, that men scarce think of finding it elsewhere than where they see it inscribed in large letters on a banner that time has made venerable." The darkness of night has indeed long brooded there, but the dawning day appears, and the time is rapidly approaching, when this vine-clad and sunny land, in former times so rich in servants of God, so often

wet with the blood of the martyrs, will forever cut itself loose from Rome, and join in concert with the nations in glorifying Jesus Christ and his pure Gospel.

This translation, which has been prepared in hours which might have been devoted to relaxation and retirement, is now submitted to the perusal and candid criticism of all who love the cause of Protestantism and humanity, with the prayer that it may contribute to the promotion of a spirit of thanksgiving on the part of my countrymen for their civil and religious blessings, deepen their interest in favor of the evangelization of France, and awaken in them a hearty resolution to toil earnestly and hopefully for the coming of *that* day, when the persecuting spirit of Romanism shall be annihilated, and Protestantism itself be absorbed in the still purer and more vital form of Primitive Christianity.

H. LOBDELL.

DANBURY, CONN., *March* 15, 1851.

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PREFACE.

THE first sketch of this work was made several years ago. Special circumstances, in connection with the general concern of the nation, have prevented the author from sooner giving it the finishing stroke. The same causes explain why he has embraced, in a single volume, a history which, to be well developed, would require several.

We had begun to work on a far more extended plan. But the present period, with its uncertainties and apprehensions, is not favorable to long works. Writers and readers alike want leisure. There will, therefore, be found here only a simple abridgment of the rich and diversified annals of the French Reformation.

To gain space, we have reduced, as far as possible, the indication of the sources from which we have drawn. It would have been easy to fill entire pages with what the Germans call the *literature* of the subject; but these bibliographical details, while requiring much room, would have served only scholars, who have little need of them; and it is only when we have borrowed an author's own words, or related events subject to controversy, that it has appeared necessary to indicate our authorities.

The general histories of France, which we suppose are well known to most readers, offer a reason for abridging our own. What is everywhere to be found, as, for example, the wars of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, the intrigues of party, the influences of court mingled with the religious struggles—these we have related in few words. It was necessary briefly to maintain the chain of events, but this is done in very narrow limits. Our special object was to relate what other historians had neglected: the development, the life, the success, and the internal reverses of the Reformers. Instead of taking our view from a point without, we have placed ourselves within. Here was what was wanting in our literature—the *special* history of Protestantism.

Every period of the French Reformation has been developed, it is true, in ancient or recent writings; but no work exists in our language

which traces this history complete. Here, then, there was a void to fill. We have attempted to do it; and we hope that this book, imperfect as it is, will give, at least, some just ideas of men and things in the reformed church of France.

It is sad to think that the history of the Protestants is so little known in their own country, and, if it must be avowed, among the members of their own churches. It furnishes us, however, men of high intelligence and noble souls to contemplate, grand examples to follow, precious lessons to gather.

Protestantism has suffered, in the national judgment, the fate of minorities, and of minorities vanquished. Since men have ceased to fear it, they have not condescended to study it; and through this indifference prejudices of every kind have been sanctioned and maintained against it. This is a denial of justice it ought not to accept, and a misfortune from which it should be emancipated. History is the common property of all.

We treat here, however, of but one of the two branches of French Protestantism. The Lutherans of Alsace, or the Christians of the Confession of Augsburg, annexed to our country during the reign of Louis XIV., and who formed about a third of the whole number of the Protestants, are entirely unnoticed in this work. They differ in origin, language, worship, and organization; and although the disciples of the Reformation of the sixteenth century are united by the most intimate ties, the disciples of Luther have a history distinct from those of Calvin. The former already count in Alsace more than one worthy historian, and it does not belong to us to attempt a work which they are in a better state to accomplish. It is, then, of the Reformers, properly so called, or of those Huguenots whose name has so long resounded in ancient France, that we have determined to write.

The reader need not expect, in this work, a spirit of sect or system. The spirit of system is, doubtless, useful in a theological or philosophical history: it allows the measurement of all events, and all opinions by an invariable rule, and subordinates them to a high and supreme unity. But this was not our design. We proposed to be a narrator rather than a judge, and to make known history rather than speak in favor of a theory. It is admitted, that in writing ecclesiastical history in general, which has been so often related, an author endeavors to bring it under a systematic view. This is the only means of giving to his work a character of originality, and, consequently, a reason for its existence. But for the history of the French Protestants, which has never been fully writ-

ten, it was necessary to relate the facts in a simple, clear, impartial manner, without adopting a form which would have impaired them. Others will follow, who will appropriate these facts, and arrange them into a philosophy or theology.

It did not become us, moreover, to take part in those questions which divide the Protestants among themselves. This would have been a controversy, not a history. We had not to attempt to decide who was right or wrong in these matters, and our pen would have betrayed our sentiment, if, in the following pages, any opinion finds an apology, or an attack. Truth and justice for all, so far as it has been possible for us to discern the true and the just; we could aspire to nothing less, and no one can demand more.

But this impartiality is not an indifferent or passive neutrality, or what is sometimes called *impersonality*. In the grand struggles of Protestantism, we are on the side of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the victims against the executioners, of right against brutal force, of equality against privilege, and of liberty against despotism. The principle of the inviolability of the human conscience, which modern peoples have drawn from the Gospel, is ours; and we shall consider ourselves well rewarded for our labors, if the reading of this work inspires a sentiment of the happy effects of Christian life, and a deeper aversion against all religious persecution, whatever name or pretext offers its sanction.

Liberty of thought, liberty of faith, liberty of worship, under the safeguard and within the limits of common right; complete equality of religious confessions; and above this same equality itself, that charity, that fraternal love, which respects every mistake in its endeavors to correct the error;—these are our maxims. They have constantly guided us in this work, and may it please God that our own conviction pass entirely into the mind and conscience of the reader! The present generation has but too much need of such enlightenment.

It was impossible to write this book without recalling, from period to period, with the exception of the last, acts of frightful injustice and horrible barbarity; for they make up the history of Protestantism itself from its origin till the revolution of 1789. No Christian population has been persecuted longer than the reformed people of France. We were obliged to perform our duty as an historian; but we have endeavored to palliate what is painful, by insisting more on the piety and the constancy of the proscribed than upon the outrages of their persecutors. In the midst of massacres, in the face of scaffolds and funeral piles, in bloody expeditions against the assemblies of the wilderness, we have regarded the

oppressors only in passing, and our eyes have been fastened on the victims. This reserve has been twice blessed to us, both as a precept of charity, and as a rule of literary composition. Every work which irritates the soul, without elevating it, is bad.

Old passions, moreover, ought to be extinct, not only among those whose fathers have endured so many sufferings, but likewise in the hearts of men who hold at this day the position of the most obstinate adversaries of Protestantism. Although the Catholic clergy declares itself immutable in its faith and its maxims, we may hope that this immutability has no application to the principle of persecution. The progress of public morals has penetrated, more or less, everywhere, and the sword of intolerance, which has, alas! returned against the priest himself in melancholy days, should, doubtless, find no longer a single hand to wield it.

The Reformers of France have never wished their country to become a Protestant Ireland. If they have been obliged too often to dwell apart from the great national family, it was their misfortune, and not their fault. They did not separate themselves: they have been cast aside: and whenever the door has been opened to them, has it not been only part way? Every time they have been able, without disregarding their holy and inviolable obligations to God, to return into the bosom of the nation, they have done so with joy, and without an after-thought. Now that the civil law is equal for all, they, in no respect, more or less, form a distinct political party: and they hold fast the banner of blending themselves with that vast unity, which is the power and glory of our country.

Therefore the Pope said, in his old age, to King Henry IV.—“My desire is that the French love one another.” This wish of the venerable pontiff is that of all Christians, and, certainly, present circumstances make it more than ever an imperative duty. Not that we partake of the discouragements of many miserable men; we have confidence in the love of God, in the power of his Spirit in the progress of humanity. When others signal signs of doubt, we behold the beginnings of a new and a brighter life. But the transition will be laborious, the success difficult: and in order to attain a better future, there is now no much representation of all sincere Christians, and all good citizens.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Reformation of the Sixteenth Century is the grandest event of modern times. It has regenerated every thing in Protestant countries, and modified almost every thing in Catholic countries—doctrines religious and moral; institutions ecclesiastical and civil; sciences, and letters—to such an extent, it is impossible to investigate any idea or fact whatsoever, without being confronted face to face by this immense movement. The Reformation marks the point of departure of a new world; God alone can comprehend its developments and termination.

It is important to examine how it sprang from the necessities of the intelligence and the conscience of men in the early portion of the sixteenth century. It was a sudden expression of a deep state of restlessness, the means of a great awakening, and the pledge of progress towards a better future.

Papacy had, doubtless, often rendered essential service to Christianity during the barbarous ages. It would be unjust to refuse it the honor of having served as a centre to European unity, and of often having made right prevail over brutal force. But in proportion as humanity advanced, Rome became less capable of guiding it; and when it dared to oppose itself as an insurmountable barrier against the twofold action of the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, it received a wound which, in spite of vain appearances, enlarges from generation to generation.

In matters of faith and worship, Roman Catholicism had admitted, through ignorance or through compromise, many of the elements of paganism. Without renouncing the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, it had so disfigured and mutilated them as

to render them almost undiscernible. It was the world, to speak the truth, which forcing, *en masse*, the doors of the Christian Church, had brought with it its demi-gods, under the name of saints, its rites, its fêtes, its consecrated places, its incense, its lustral water, its priesthood; in a word, even the insignia of its priests; so that polytheism survived, to a great degree, under the mantle of the religion of Christ.

This mass of errors and superstitions was naturally augmented during the long darkness of the Middle Ages. People and priests lent it their hands. Of the false traditions of Catholicism, we behold, from epoch to epoch, each new deception as it rises; and it is easy to mark, in the history of the Church, the date of all the great changes Christianity has undergone. The most devout defenders of the Holy See avow, that the corruption was extreme at the beginning of the sixteenth century. "Some years before the appearance of the Calvinistic and Lutheran heresy," says Bellarmin, "there was scarcely any longer discipline in the Church, purity of morals, knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, respect for things sacred, nor religion."

Preaching, besides being a rare thing itself, contributed, it seems, far more to deepen the darkness, than to dissipate it. Bossuet acknowledged it, with some precautions, which veil but half his thoughts: "Many preachers preached only indulgences, pilgrimages, benefices for the ecclesiastics, and laid the basis of their piety in those practices which are only its accessories. They did not speak, as much as they should, of the grace of Jesus Christ."

The Bible lay silent under the dust of old libraries. It was held, in some places, bound with a chain of iron; a sad image of the interdiction by which it was smitten throughout the Catholic world.

Having taken it from the faithful, the clergy, as a very natural consequence, shut up the Bible in their own schools. A short time before the Reformation, the professors of Germany had been forbidden to expound the Holy Word, either in their public or private teachings. The original languages of the Old and of

¹ Bellarm. Opt. t. VI. p. 296.

² *Hist. des Variations*, l. V. 1.

the New Testament were, so to speak, suspected of heresy ; and when Luther raised his voice, it was scarcely possible to find in the Church of Rome, doctors capable of discussing with him the text of the Scriptures.

In this great silence of the sacred authors, ignorance, prejudice, ambition, avarice, spoke freely. The priest often used this liberty, not for the glory of God, but for his own ; and religion, destined to transform man into the image of his Creator, came to transform the Creator himself into the image of a grasping, passionate, intolerant man.

Theology, after having shot forth a brilliant light during the fair days of the schoolmen, had by degrees lost its ardor as well as its authority, and become an immense collection of curious and frivolous questions. Occupied unceasingly in sharpening, by puerile disputations, the point of its dialectics, it responded no better to the wants of the intellect than to those of the human heart.

The popular masses, in general, marched on their ancient way, but more through habit and tradition than from devotion. The enthusiasm of the Middle Ages was at an end ; and the Church would have been searched in vain for those grand inspirations which had roused all Europe in the times of the Crusades.

There were still some pious men in the presbyteries, in the cloisters, and among the laity, making an effort to penetrate to the truth through the veils with which it had been covered ; but they were scattered, suspected, and despondent.

Discipline had suffered alterations as well as doctrine. The Pontiff of Rome having, by means of false decretals, usurped the title and functions of universal bishop, assumed to exercise nearly all those rights which appertained, during the first ages of the Church, to the chiefs of the dioceses ; and as he was unable to be everywhere at the same time, and further, as he indulged his passions or his interests more than his duty, he aggravated the abuses which he ought to have destroyed.

What the sovereign pontiff was to the bishops, the mendicant monks, the pedlars of indulgences, and vagabond agents of the papacy, were to the simple curates and priests of the parish. The regular and legitimate authority was obliged to give place to

those intruders who, while promising to reform their flocks, only corrupted them.

All was disorder and anarchy. A despotic power at the head of the Church—at its middle and base, increasing usurpations, quarrels scandalous and without end—Christianity had still less to complain of in being too much, than in being *badly* governed.

Deceptive in the ranks of the clergy, discipline came to be a source of demoralization to the people. To the long and serious penances of former times, had succeeded redemption from sin at the price of money. If one was obliged to pay for every fault by itself, it was yet demanded that there should again be a reckoning for his sins as a whole. The worst evil was, that one could redeem them all at a time, could buy them in advance, for his whole life, for all his family, his posterity, and for an entire parish. Hence authority was at an end. Absolution by the priest was laughed at, because he had already been paid; and the clerical power which Rome was fortifying on one side, was precipitated on the other.

The traffic in indulgences was conducted in the same manner as ordinary trade; it had its agents in chief, its directors and sub-directors, its bureaux, its tariffs, its commercial travellers. Indulgences were sold at auction, at the sound of the drum, in the public places. They were disposed of wholesale and retail, and agents were employed who best understood the art of cheating men.

It was this sacrilegious business, above all, which gave the Roman Church the fatal blow. Nothing irritates mankind so fiercely, as to find in their religion less morality than they discover in themselves; and this instinct is just. All religion ought to make those better who believe it. When it depraves them, when it makes them descend lower than they would be without it, it must fall; for it has lost the essential and supreme reason for its existence.

Moreover, how could the clergy secure respect for the moral duties they were the first to transgress? We do not wish to recall here the shameful and universal profligacy so many times attested by authentic writings; among others, by the *hundred grievances* which were presented at the Diet of Nuremburg in

1523, with the signature of even a legate of Pope Adrian. Many priests paid a public tax in order to live in unlawful concubinage. In many parts of Germany, they went so far as to impose this vice as an obligation to escape a greater.

Besides indulgences, Rome had invented every species of means for augmenting her revenues; appeals, reservations, exemptions, provisions, licenses, reversions, annats. The gold of Europe would have been completely absorbed, if its governments had not offered resistance; and the poorest nations would have become still more impoverished, to enrich the pontiffs, who, like the grave, never cried "enough."

The bishops and the heads of the monastic orders, acted likewise in the different Catholic provinces. Every thing served to swell the property of the Church;—war and peace, triumphs and public calamities, successes and misfortunes of individuals, the faith of some, and the heresy of others. What could not be obtained from the liberality of the faithful, was found in the robbery of heretics. Hence, as the Nuremburg Grievances declare, the regular and secular clergy held possession of half the territory of Germany. In France they had a third; elsewhere still more. The ecclesiastical estates were enfranchised from all taxes; priests and monks, without bearing the expenses of the state, enjoyed its benefits.

Not only did they enjoy enormous privileges for their property, they had others for their persons. Every ecclesiastic was the Lord's anointed, a sacred thing before the civil judge. No one had a right to lay hand upon him, before he had been judged, condemned, degraded by the members of his order. The clergy also formed a community entirely distinct from the general society. They were a caste beyond and above the common law; their immunities raised them above the sovereignty of justice; and worthy authors of the Faith relate that vile men entered the priesthood or the cloister, solely to shield their crimes from punishment.

While the priests did not permit the magistrate to prosecute them, they themselves claimed the right of interfering constantly in the lawsuits of the people. Wills, marriages, the civil registrations of children, and a multitude of other affairs which were

called mixed, were brought before their tribunal; in such a manner, that a considerable part of justice, depended on the clergy, while they themselves were subject only to their equals and their chief. An organization, perhaps useful in times of ignorance, when ecclesiastics possessed but little light; but which, in extending to the sixteenth century, after the revival of letters, became the most iniquitous of prerogatives, the most intolerable of usurpations.

There are still some writers who trace a magnificent ideal of the state of Catholicism before Luther. But have they ever studied this epoch? And would those who declaim, with the most vehemence, against the Reformation, have endured, for a single day, the abuses it has destroyed?

Thus we should say, for the honor of humanity, from age to age, new and courageous adversaries have arisen against every error, and every encroachment of sacerdotal power. In a remote period, Vigilance and Claude of Turin; then the Vaudois and the Albigenses; later, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, and the Brethren of Moravia and Bohemia: small and feeble communities, crushed by popes in league with princes, but who, from the top of their scaffolds and funeral piles, transmitted the sacred torch of the primitive faith, till the day when, seized by the powerful hand of Luther, it threw its splendor far over the Christian world.

Another protest equal with the preceding, and which has been called Catholic Protestantism, has been incessantly renewed in the very bosom of the Church, especially after the appearance of the mysticism of the Middle Ages. Among the theologians, Bernard de Clairvaux, Gerson d'Ailly, Nicholas de Clémangis; among the poets, Dante and Petrarch; even the Councils held at Pisa, at Constance, and at Basle; the men most celebrated for piety and integrity, for genius and knowledge, had uttered the same cry—A Reform! a reform in the Church! a reform in the head and the members, in faith and in morals! But this Catholic movement was always frustrated, because it struck not at the root of the evil. Is not the secret of obtaining every thing, that of wishing and daring every thing?

While the papacy persecuted the first of these protests, and

attempted to seduce the other, a new enemy arose, the most formidable of all, because it was able to assume the most diverse forms, because it showed itself everywhere at the same time, because neither artifice nor torture could subdue it. And what was this antagonist? The human mind itself, awaking from its long sleep. The fifteenth century had given it the volumes of antiquity. It was suddenly animated with an immense desire for investigation and revival, and resuming at once philosophy, history, poetry, the sciences, the arts, all the wonders of the most florid ages of Greece and Rome, it discovered that it could and must go forth in its independence.

The discovery of printing, came to the aid of the revival of letters. The Old World reappeared entire, at the same time Christopher Columbus discovered the New. More than three thousand works were published from the year 1450 to the year 1520. That was a prodigious activity, which knew neither fear nor fatigue; and what could the Church oppose to that first transport of the human mind, so joyous and so proud in its entering to retake possession of itself? The funeral pile of Savonarola did not frighten it; at the most it was thought best to take refuge in the treaties of Pomponace, in order to accomplish the same end.

The Holy See, which had sometimes been so skilful, was not so in meeting this vast movement. Many popes succeeded each other, inapt, avaricious, or stained with frightful crimes:—Paul II., Sextus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Julius II. The last, Leo X., having the voluptuous propensities of the family of the Medici, to which he belonged, without having their greatness or their courage; a priest without theological knowledge; a pontiff without gravity; making his buffoons dispute on the immortality of the soul at the close of his banquets, and amusing himself with the frivolous diversions of the theatre when Germany was on fire, seemed to have been chosen from on high to prepare the way for the Reformation.

All was then ready. One scarcely sets foot on the threshold of the sixteenth century, before he hears the rumbling sounds which, in the moral as in the physical world, announce the approach of a storm. Hearts are oppressed, spirits are restless; I

know not what wonder will come. Kings on their thrones, scholars in their cabinets, professors in their chairs, pious men in their oratories, men of arms themselves on the fields of battle, shake with trepidation ; and reveal, now by brief words, now by acts of violence, the presentiments with which they are pursued.

In 1511, the Emperor Maximilian and King Louis XII. convoked a council at Pisa, in order to bring Julius II. to his duty, and to remedy the evils of the Church. Many cardinals assist, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Holy See ; and on the 21st of April, 1512, Pope Julius is suspended, as notoriously incorrigible and contumacious. " Arise, Cæsar," cried, with one accord, the members of that assembly to the Emperor Maximilian ; " stand ready to act, and watch : the Church falls ; good men are oppressed ; the impious triumph."

Julius II. opposes council to council, and assembles in the Basilican church of the Lateran, the prelates who still remain faithful to him. But even there, before the pontiff, who understood nothing but the profession of arms, Egede de Viterbe, general of the Augustin order, accuses the priests of having left prayer for the sword, and of going, from the battle, to houses of prostitution. " Can one contemplate," he demands, " without weeping tears of blood, the ignorance, ambition, wantonness, and impiety reigning in holy places from which they ought forever to be banished ?"

On hearing these cries of distress, which fall from such a height, the affrightened nations call a new General Council, as if experience had not apprised them, that these great assemblies, so prodigal of words, were sterile in the work of reformation ! But the multitude knew not whence deliverance should come, and in their agony they again fled to the illusions of their old souvenirs.

In the midst of this restless and general expectation, the antagonists grew bold. Reuchlin advocated the rights of science against the barbarous teaching of the universities. The noble Ulrich de Hutten, representing chivalry in this grand struggle, announced, in substituting for the strokes of the sword, appeals to public reason, the approach of a new civilization. Erasmus, the Voltaire of that epoch, made kings, nobles, cardinals,

and the pope himself, laugh, at the expense of the monks and the doctors; and opened, in this playful way, the door through which the modern world was to pass. Then appeared Martin Luther.

I have not to write the history of the Reformer. Sent to Rome to transact the business of the order of the Augustins, he found there a profound and vast skepticism, a revolting immorality. He returns to Germany heart-broken, his conscience agitated with bitter doubts. An old Bible, which he has discovered in the convent of Erfurth, reveals to him a religion entirely different from that he had been taught. But the idea does not yet enter his mind of undertaking the reformation of the Church. Pastor and professor at Wittenberg, he contents himself with scattering around him, holy doctrines and good examples.

But John Tetzel, a seller of indulgences, bold even to effrontery, avaricious even to surliness, just before condemned to prison for notorious crimes, and threatened with being drowned in the Inn by the inhabitants of the Tyrol, undertakes to interpose his vile traffic between the words of Luther and the souls which have confided in him. Luther is indignant; he reads once more his Bible; and in 1517 he fastens to the door of the Cathedral of Wittenberg those ninety-five theses which were so soon to shake all Europe with a terrible convulsion.

It is the revolt of his conscience which now leads him to search the Bible for new arms against the Church of Rome. It is the same moral revolt which assembled around him thousands, and soon millions of disciples. Luther is placed at the head of good, and indignant men.

To the doctrine of justification by works, which had produced so many extravagant practices and shameful excesses, he opposes justification by faith in the redemption of Jesus Christ. His whole doctrine is summed up in that declaration of St. Paul: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." This doctrine had the double advantage, of supporting itself by Bible texts, and of upsetting, at the same time, indulgences, works of supererogation of the saints, pilgrimages, flagellations, penances, artificial merits. It

¹ Eph. ii. 8.

corresponded, also, with the loftier ideas, the higher religious aspirations, the intelligence and morals of the period.

Luther has taken the first step. But he appeals again from a badly-instructed to a better-informed pope. But, instead of an ordinance of reformation, Rome sends a bull of excommunication. The doctor of Wittenberg solemnly burns it, with the decretals of the Holy See, the 10th of December, 1520, in the presence of innumerable spectators. The flame which went forth from it illumined all Europe, and threw upon the walls of the Vatican an ominous glare.

The 17th of April, 1521, Luther appeared before the Diet of Worms. He has against him the pope and the emperor, the two mightiest powers of the earth; but he has in his behalf the living forces of his age. When commanded to retract, he invokes the testimony of the Bible. If he is convinced by that of error, he will retract; if not, not. The legate of Rome refuses to open the book which condemns the papacy, and Charles V. begins to see that there is something here below, superior to the power of the glove. The work goes on. It is interesting to observe that Luther does not arrive at once, at a complete and consolidated system. He came with a first complaint against the abuses of the Roman Church, then with a second; and with one hand overthrowing by degrees the old edifice of Catholicism, while with the other he constructed a new, he did not himself comprehend his mission except as he accomplished it.

After the awakening of his conscience, came reform of doctrine; after doctrine, the reform in worship; after worship, the establishment of new ecclesiastical institutions. Luther never went beyond his convictions, nor went too far in advance of the movement of the public mind. By this means he retained under his standard those who were gathered around it, and was aided also in his work by the common opinion. Luther gave a great impulse to his own generation, and received from it, perhaps, a greater still.

One of his most laborious and useful works was the translation of the Bible into German. It settled the language of his country, and fortified its faith. Eight years after the publication of the ninety-five theses, in 1525, Luther married Catherine de

Bora, being persuaded, with Finas Sylvius, who became pope under the name of Pius II., that if there were strong reasons for forbidding the marriage of priests, there were stronger reasons for its permission. The Reformer did not manifest, in this solemn act, a precipitation which would have compromised his character, nor a delay which would have contradicted or enfeebled his maxims. He was then forty-two years of age and, by the avowal of his adversaries themselves, "he had passed his whole youth without reproach, in continence."

In 1530, Melancthon, the working companion of Luther, presents to the Diet of Augsburg, in conjunction with him, the confession of faith which, for centuries, has served as a rallying-point for the Lutheran Reformation. The Protestants showed, in this manner, that they had shaken off the yoke of Rome simply to accept the instructions of the Bible, as they understood them, by the measure of the lights of their time.

There were numerous and heavy trials in the life of Luther: the excesses of the Anabaptists, the revolt of the peasants, the passions of princes, who mingled political calculations with religious questions; the transports of some of his disciples, the feebleness and timidity of others. He was often grieved, not dejected; and the same spirit of faith which had opened his path, enabled him to march on with unshaken firmness.

Luther died in 1546. Some hours before his end, he said—"Jonas, Coelius, and you who are here, pray for the cause of God and his Gospel; for the Council of Trent and the pope are in a great fury." And when the cold sweat seized him, he made a prayer in these words: "O, my dear heavenly Father, the God and Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, God of all consolation, I render thee thanks that thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son Jesus Christ, in whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, whom I have loved and glorified. I pray thee, Lord Jesus Christ, take care of my poor soul." Then he said three times in Latin: "Father, I commit my spirit into thy hands. Thou hast ransomed me, O eternal God of truth." Then, without a groan, without an effort, he gave up his last breath.

¹ Bossuet, *Hist. des Var.*, l. II. 18.

While the Reformation changed the face of Germany, it penetrated also into the mountains and valleys of Switzerland. It had even appeared there before. Ulrich Zwingli was encouraged and strengthened by the words of Luther, but he had not waited for him. "I had begun to preach the Gospel of grace in the year 1516," he wrote; "that is to say, when the name of Luther had not been pronounced in our country. It is not from Luther that I have learned the doctrine of Christ; it is from the word of God."

Another seller of indulgences, Bernardin Samson, determined Zwingli, in 1518, openly to declare himself. Everywhere we behold the revolt of conscience against the disorders of Catholic authority. The Reformation was the protestation of outraged morality before it became a religious renovation. This barefooted Carmelite, from Italy, showed an effrontery which should make even vice itself indignant. "I can forgive all sins," cried he; "heaven and hell are subjected to my power, and I sell the merits of Jesus Christ to any one who will pay the cash." He boasted of having wrung enormous sums from a poor country. When one had no pieces of money, he took, in exchange for his papal bulls, a vessel of gold or silver. He made his acolytes cry out to the multitude who pressed before his trestles—"Do not hinder each other. Let those who have money come at once; we will try afterwards to suit those who have none."

Ulrich Zwingli from this time attacked the power of the pope, the sacrament of penance, the merit of ceremonial works, the sacrifice of mass, abstinence from meat, the celibacy of the priests; becoming more and more decided, as the public voice responded more energetically to his own.

The Reformer of Switzerland was modest, affable, popular, and of an irreproachable life. He had a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, a living faith, solid erudition, clear ideas, a simple and definite style, and boundless activity. Imbued with Greek and Roman literature, and filled with admiration of the great men of antiquity, he held some opinions which appeared startling and presumptuous to his age. Zwingli, like several of the ancient Fathers of the Church, believed in the permanent and universal action of the divine Spirit in humanity. "Plato,"

said he, "has also drank at the divine fountain; and had not the two Catos, Camillus and Scipio, been truly religious, would they have been so magnanimous?"

Called to Zurich, he taught there, not what he had received from Roman tradition, but what he had drawn from the Bible. "That is a preacher of the truth," said the magistrates; "he declares to us things as they are." In the year 1520, the Council of Zurich published an ordinance which charged all the ecclesiastics to preach only what they could prove by the Scriptures.

Three years after, Pope Adrian, seeing the growth of Zwingle's influence, attempted to win him to his side. He addressed him a letter, wherein he congratulated him on his excellent virtues; and directed his legate to offer him every thing—*every thing except the Pontifical chair*. Adrian knew the price of a man, not of a character. At the very moment these high honors were offered him, Zwingle was disputing at Zurich against the delegates of the Bishop of Constance, and he achieved a brilliant victory.

Other debates were opened in the presence of the magistrates and the people. At length, the 12th of April, 1525, appeared a proclamation, ordering the abolition of the mass, and the celebration of the communion according to the simplicity of the Gospel.

We should here remark the contrast of ages and morals. In the sixteenth century, the civil power resolved on a change of religion; in the nineteenth, we behold it an intolerable usurpation. The more civilization advances, the more it diminishes, in spiritual matters, the part of the State, to increase that of the individual.

The Helvetic cantons having espoused, some the Reformation, others the side of Rome, a war of religion blazed out between them—the worst of all wars. According to ancient usage, the chief minister of Zurich was obliged to accompany the army. Zwingle conformed to it. The historian, Ruchat, relates that he placed himself in the march, as if they were conducting him to his grave; and those who noticed his gestures,

¹ Eccl. et Zw. Op., p. 9.

observed that he did not cease in his prayers to commend his soul and the Church to God.

The 11th of October, 1531, he was overthrown on the battle-field of Cappel. He rose up, but, pressed by the flying multitude, he fell three times. "Alas! what a misfortune is this," said he. "Ah, well! they may kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul." These were the last words he could speak. Lying on his back, his hands clasped together, and his eyes lifted to heaven, the movement of his lips showed that he was in prayer. The soldiers having raised him up without knowing him, asked if he would confess, and invoke the Virgin and the saints. He made a sign of the head that he would not; and lifting his eyes to heaven, he continued his silent prayers. *He is an obstinate Arian*, cried the soldiers; and an officer giving him a blow with his pike on the chin, he accomplished his death. Ulrich Zwingli was forty-four years old, some say forty-seven.

Different judgments have been expressed on this tragical end; and we can discern in this the change of opinions. Our age would mourn at least the death of a minister of the Gospel in the midst of a scene of carnage; they thought differently of it three centuries ago. "Zwingli, exercising his ministry in the army," says Theobaldus Monachus "was killed in battle, and his body burnt by the enemy. God honoring in this manner his servant with a double crown, since a man could not die more honorably, or more saintly, than in losing this corruptible life for the salvation of his country and for the glory of God."

Not in spite of so many inconspicuous events, the Reformation spread rapidly over a great portion of Europe and struck its roots deep. In Germany, Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, Pomerania, many other considerable states, and almost all the free cities; in the east, the majority of the people of Hungary; in the north, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and a part of Poland, broke the chains of Roman Catholicism.

The text of this work has been translated from the Latin of Dr. de Sion, who has given it the most exact and the most complete of the manuscripts, but that of the London edition of all these is better. Of the present edition, we shall mention the use of the edition, and what we have a copy of a printed and the best edition available, we shall require to be the equivalent edition.

In England and in Scotland, two distinct movements led the people to the Protestant faith; the one directed by King Henry VIII, the other by the minister John Knox. From these sources arose the differences of principles and of organization which have subsisted to our day.

The Reformation penetrated into the South of Europe, but without the power to establish itself. In Spain, the long struggle maintained against the Moors, had identified Catholicism with the spirit of nationality, and the Inquisition was firmly sustained by the popular fanaticism. In Italy, the skepticism of learned men, the numberless ramifications of the clergy, the interests of a multitude of families concerned in the maintenance of the ancient ecclesiastical order, the passion of the masses for the fine arts, and the splendid ceremonials of the Roman worship, arrested the progress of Protestantism.

On the borders of France, Switzerland on the one side, with some small neighboring states, Alsace, Lorraine, the district of Montbéliard, which have since become French provinces; on the other side, Flanders and Holland, listened with sympathy to the preaching of the new ideas. The Reformation extended itself on all the frontiers of France, while it was trying to penetrate and expand through the interior.

We come at length to the history which forms the subject of this work. It will bring before our eyes great triumphs succeeded by great catastrophes, and frightful persecutions surpassed only by the constancy of their victims. It is altogether one of the most important chapters in the annals of the French nation, and one of the most interesting pages of the Reformation.

BOOK FIRST.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE, TO
THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE OF POISSY.

(1521-1561.)

I.

THE city of Meaux was the first in France, which heard a public announcement of the doctrines of the Reformation. This was in 1521, four years after Luther had posted up his theses against indulgences, and the same year he appeared before the Diet of Worms.

Two preachers especially attracted the attention of the inhabitants of Meaux—Jacques Lefèvre and William Farel: the one nearly seventy years old, but still full of vigor in his green age; the other, young, decided, ardent, and, according to the testimony of contemporaries, making the public markets and the temples resound with his voice of thunder.

Jacques Lefèvre was born at Etaples, a small town in Picardy. Gifted with a capacious and curious mind, he had embraced every thing in his studies: ancient languages, belles-lettres, history, mathematics, philosophy, theology; and in his extended travels, he had gathered all that could be learned at the close of the fifteenth century. On his return to France, he was appointed professor in the University of Paris, and assembled around

his chair a multitude of scholars. The doctors of the Sorbonne, disturbed at his learning, and jealous of his reputation, watched him with an eye of suspicion. But he displayed an extreme devotion, being one of the most assiduous at mass and in processions, passing entire hours at the feet of the images of Mary, and taking pleasure in ornamenting them with flowers.

Lefèvre had even undertaken to recompose the legend of the saints, but he did not bring it to an end; for, having attentively read the Bible, to complete his work, he had seen that the sanctity of many of the heroes of the Roman Calendar bore little resemblance to the ideal of Christian virtue. Once upon this new field, he left it no more; and ever honest before his disciples, as with his own conscience, he publicly attacked some of the errors of the Catholic Church. To justification by outward works, he opposed justification by faith, and predicted an approaching renovation in the religion of mankind. This happened in 1512.

It is important to mark these dates, since they prove that ideas of reform, not only in worship or discipline, but in foundation-principles, manifested themselves at that time in many quarters, without any possibility of a secret understanding between the leaders of the movement. When a religious or a political revolution is ripe, it appears on all sides, and no one can tell who was the first to commence it.

Among those who listened with avidity to the new opinions of Jacques Lefèvre, was William Farel, whom we have already mentioned. Born near Gap in 1489, and trained in the faithful observance of devotional practices, he had sought, like his master, quiet for his spirit. Day and night, as he repeated to himself a confession addressed *to all lords and peoples*, he invoked the Virgin and the saints, scrupulously observed the fasts prescribed by the Church, considered the Pontiff of Rome as a god upon earth, saw in the priests the chosen mediators of all cele-

tial benedictions, and treated every man as an infidel who had not a fervor equal to his own.

When he heard his venerated master teach that these practices availed little, and that salvation comes by faith in Jesus Christ, he felt a deep agitation. The struggle was long and terrible. On one side were the instructions and the habits of his paternal house—so many souvenirs, so many prayers, so many hopes! On the other, the declarations of the Bible, the duty of bending every thing to the search for truth, the promise of eternal redemption. He studied the original languages better to comprehend the sense of the Scriptures; and, after the pains of the conflict, he reposed in new and firmer convictions.

Farel and Lefèvre conceived for each other an intimate friendship, there being between them a resemblance of principles, and a contrast of character. The veteran moderated the impetuosity of the young man, and he fortified the somewhat fearful heart of his teacher. The one inclined towards mystic speculations, the other towards action, and they mutually supplied what each other lacked.

There was at Meaux a third personage of high rank, who encouraged them by his influence and his word. It was the bishop himself, William Briçonnet, Count of Montbrun, a former ambassador of King Francis I., near the Holy See. Like Luther, he had brought back from his sojourn at Rome little respect for the papacy; and without wishing to separate himself entirely from it (as the sequel showed), he sought to correct its abuses.

When he returned to his diocese, he was indignant at the disorders which reigned there. Most of the curates received the revenues of their offices, to the utter neglect of their duties. They generally lived at Paris, devoting their money to a licentious life, and sent to their places poor vicars, who had neither instruction nor influence. There, in the season of the great fes-

tivals, came mendicant monks, preaching from parish to parish, dishonoring the pulpit by contemptible buffooneries, and less eager to edify the faithful than to fill their own purses.

Briçonnet undertook to put an end to these scandals, and to compel the priests to remain at their stations. In every instance they brought an action before the metropolitan. The bishop then looked to men not belonging to his clergy, and called around him, not only Lefèvre d'Etaples and Farel, but also Michel d'Araude, Gérard Roussel, Francis Vatable, professors or priests of exemplary morals, and who wished to teach a pure religion.

Preaching was at first confined to small reunions; but courage rose with the number of hearers, and it spoke from the pulpits. The bishop preached in his turn; and, as if he had a presentiment that he would faint in a day of persecution, "he had in his sermons fervently besought the people that, though he might change his opinions, they should beware of changing with him."

On hearing these discourses, which invited them to give, not their purse to the Church, but their heart to God, the surprise of the inhabitants of Meaux was great. They were chiefly persons who followed trades—carders of wool, drapers, fullers, and other artisans. The people flocked to the churches from city and country, and throughout the vicinity they spoke only of the new doctors.

Lefèvre d'Etaples and Briçonnet, wishing to sustain their teaching by the only authority invoked by the Reformation, published the four Gospels in the French language. The bishop recommended to his treasurer their gratuitous distribution to the poor, and *spared nothing* for this purpose, says Crespin, neither *gold nor silver*. Every body began to read them. Sundays and holidays were devoted to their study. They carried the Gospels

¹ Fontaine, Hist. Cathol. de notre temps, p. 53.

with them to the fields and the workshops, to read in their hours of recreation ; and these good people said to one another : " Of what use to us are saints and holy mothers who have hardly grace enough for themselves ! Our only mediator is Christ."

As they took hold of religion in earnest, a reform in morals followed. Blasphemies, drunkenness, quarrels, disorders of all kinds, gave place to a purer and better mode of life. The movement extended to a distance. The laborers of Picardy and other places, who came in the time of harvest to work in the environs of Meaux, carried back with them the seeds of the doctrines which they had heard preached. Hence rose a multitude of churches. This influence was so great, it became a proverbial expression in France, in the first half of the sixteenth century, to designate all the adversaries of Rome as heretics of Meaux.

At the same period, Briçonnet sent a translation of the Bible to the sister of Francis I., Margaret de Valois, who read it, and caused those around her to do the same. Every thing now announced an early triumph to the French Reformation, when the arm of persecution was raised to arrest it.

II.

The priests and the monks of the diocese of Meaux, finding their influence undermined, and their revenues diminishing, brought their complaint before the Sorbonne. They met a kind reception. The Sorbonne, exposed to the railleries of men of letters, and attacked by novices, was in the embarrassing position of an ancient institution outstripped by public opinion. It felt that if it did not make rapid and bold strokes, it would be lost.

At the head of this Faculty of Theology was a certain Noël

Beda, or Bedier, a doctor of mediocre science, but active, bold, skilful in dispute, capable of unfolding every point of scholastic theology, and ready to court power among the populace, when he lacked more honorable auxiliaries. He had for his acolytes Duchêne and Leconturier, who held sway over their brethren by the vehemence of their passions and conversation.

Luther had invited the Sorbonne, in 1521, to examine his book on the *Captivity of Babylon*. This body declared his doctrine blasphemous, insolent, impious, dishonest, and that it should be answered with sword and fire rather than with argument. They compared Luther with the greatest arch-heretics, and with Mahomet himself, demanding that he should be forced at all hazards to make a public retraction. The mild Melancthon forgot his accustomed moderation, when he called this sentence *the ferocious decree of the theologasters of Paris*. "Cursed is France," said he, "in having such doctors!"

These theologians opened their arms to the complainants of Meaux, and, as a bishop was implicated in the case, they demanded assistance from the parliament of Paris.

The parliament had no love for the monks, and distrusted the priests. It had vindicated and defended against them, with resolute energy, the rights of laical jurisdiction. But it held as a fundamental maxim of the state the motto of former times: *One faith, one law, one king*, and believed that it was no more to be tolerated to have two religions in one country, than two governments.

Chancellor Anthony Duprat employed all his authority to urge the magistracy to measures of violence. A man without religion and without morals, a bishop and archbishop without having set foot in his dioceses, a promoter of venality in office, a signer of a *concordat* which irritated both parliament and the clergy, made cardinal for having degraded the realm before the

Holy See; he accused himself on his death-bed with having followed no law but his interest, and that of the king only after his own. Antoine Duprat had amassed immense riches, and when he was building in the Hôtel-Dieu of Paris new wards for the sick, "They will be vast indeed," said Francis I., "if they can hold all the poor he has made."

The court wishing to make sure of the support of the pope in the wars of Italy, favored also the spirit of persecution. Louise of Savoy, who governed the kingdom in the absence of her son, then a prisoner at Madrid, proposed, in 1525, the following question to the Sorbonne: *How can we suppress and extirpate the damnable doctrine of Luther from this very Christian kingdom, and purge it from it entirely?* Beda and his party answered that they must pursue the heresy with the extremest rigor, otherwise it would bring injury to the honor of the king and Madame Louise de Savoie; and that it seemed to very many that they had already endured it too long. These theologians took care, it may be seen, to unite the cause of the throne with their own.

Pope Clement VII. had recourse, two years after, to the same tactics. "It is necessary," he wrote to the Parliament of Paris, "in this great and astounding disorder, which arises from the rage of Satan, and from the fury and impiety of his instruments, that everybody exerts himself to guard the common safety, seeing that this madness not only would embroil and destroy religion, but also all principality, nobility, laws, orders, and ranks."

The clergy held councils at Paris, under the presidency of Cardinal Duprat, and at Bourges, under that of the archbishop, Francis de Tournon, where the Reformers were accused of having participated in an *execrable conspiracy*, and the most Christian king exhorted them to suffocate in all his domains these *slandrous dogmas*. Obstinate heretics should be exterminated, and the

less culpable should suffer in prison a perpetual penance, with *the bread of sorrow and the water of bitterness.*

We have anticipated in our recital, to show who were the first authors of the persecutions in France. It is to be remarked, that Italy played the chief part, with the regent, Louise de Savoie; with the cardinals, who are above all the Roman princes; with the monks and the priests, who parade a profession of being subjects of the Holy See rather than of their own country. This observation will be verified in different portions of our history; and we shall show, in its proper place, that Saint Bartholomew was, in the words of a modern writer, an *Italian crime*. Mean time, we return to the Church of Meaux.

The Bishop Briçonnet in the beginning breasted the storm. He even dared to call the doctors of the Sorbonne Pharisees and hypocrites; but it was a short-lived boldness, and when he saw that he would have to answer for his acts before parliament, he fell back. But did he by this measure abjure the faith he had preached? We know not. The whole affair was conducted with closed doors, before a commission composed of two clerical advisers, and two secular counsellors of the parliament. After being condemned to pay a fine of two hundred livres, Briçonnet returned to his diocese, and attempted to speak no more. (1523-1525.)

The new converts of Meaux were more persevering. One of them, Jean Leclerc, having posted at the door of the cathedral a placard in which he accused the pope of being Antichrist, was condemned, in 1523, to be scourged for three days, at the corners of the streets, and branded on his forehead with a hot iron. When the executioner stamped on him the sign of infamy, a voice resounded among the multitude, saying, "*Vive Jesus Christ and his standard-bearers!*" They wondered; they gazed: it was the voice of his mother.

The following year, Jean Leclerc suffered martyrdom at Mentz, which was not then a city of France.

The first of those who were burnt for heresy within the ancient limits of the realm, was born at Boulogne, and was named Jacques Pauvent, or Pavaues. A disciple of Lefèvre, whom he had accompanied to Meaux, he was accused of having written theses against purgatory, the invocation of the Virgin, the saints, and the holy water. "He was," says Crespin, "a man of great sincerity and integrity."

He was condemned, in 1524, to be burnt alive, on the *Place de Grève*. Pavaues, still young, had in a moment of weakness uttered a sort of recantation. But he soon rallied his courage, and marched to the stake with a calm brow; happier to die confessing his faith, than to live by its denial. At the foot of the funeral pile, he spoke of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper with so much power, that a doctor said, "I would that Pavaues had not spoken, though it had cost the Church a million of gold."

Executions were multiplied. One of the most illustrious victims of these times was Louis de Berquin, of whom Theodore de Bèze has said, with some exaggeration, doubtless, "that he would have been for France another Luther, if he had found in Francis I. a second Elector of Saxony." The history of his life and of his death throws a great light over the commencement of the Reformation in our country.

Louis de Berquin was of a noble family of the Artois. Quite unlike the ancient knights, who understood nothing but their cape and sword, he applied himself assiduously to intellectual culture: a frank man, and withal loyal, open to his friends, generous to the poor, he had reached the age of forty unmarried, and without becoming subject to the slightest sus-

¹ Hist. des Martyrs, p. 98.

picion of incontinence; *a marvellously rare thing among courtiers*, says an old chronicle.

Like Lefèvre and Farel, he was very devout. "Before the Lord had brought him to a knowledge of his Gospel, he was," according to Crespin, "a great stickler for the papal constitutions, a great hearer of masses and sermons, an observer of fasts and festivals. . . . The doctrine of Luther, then very new in France, was to him an extreme abomination."¹

But two things detached him from Catholicism. His mind illumined, he despised the gross ignorance of the doctors of Sorbonne; his heart guileless, he was enraged at their dark intrigues; and as he had liberty of speaking at court, he freely unfolded his thoughts to Francis I., who held him in great affection, not only for his character, but for his hatred of the monks.

A controversy he sustained with Doctor Duchene, or the *master of Quercû*, as he was called, on the subtleties of the schools, made him open the Bible. Berquin was astounded in not finding in it what he sought, and in discovering what he did not seek. Nothing about the invocation of the Virgin Mary, nothing on many of the reputed fundamental dogmas of the Roman Church; and, on the other hand, important articles, which Rome scarcely mentioned in her formularies. What he thought of the matter, Berquin avowed, both in speaking and writing. The Sorbonists, anxious to compromise him, denounced him to the parliament in 1523, and joined in their complaints extracts from his works, like the poison of the spider, says our chronicle. But upon such complaints, how could a counsellor and a favorite of the king be condemned? He was acquitted and dismissed. The doctors of the Sorbonne pretended that this

¹ Hist. des Martyrs, p. 96.

was a favor which ought to excite him to repentance ; Berquin replied, that it was only justice.

The quarrel became more virulent. Berquin undertook to translate some small fragments of Luther and Melancthon. Noël Beda and his attendants made a descent into his library. A second complaint to the parliament followed, and a citation before the Bishop of Paris. Fortunately, Francis I. called the affair before his council, and set Berquin at liberty, exhorting him to be more prudent for the future.

But he did not regard it. His strong convictions would not allow him to hold his peace. Hence the third imprisonment of Berquin. This time, the Sorbonists hoped he would not escape them. Francis I. was at Madrid. Margaret de Valois had no power. Louise de Savoie encouraged his persecutors. The parliament was bent on severity. Already they counted the days Berquin had to live, when an order from the king, dated the 1st of April, 1526, enjoined the suspension of the affair till his return.

When he was again at liberty, lukewarm and timid counsels were not wanting. Erasmus in particular, who, according to the historians of the times, wished *to remain neutral between the Gospel and popery, and to sail between two seas*, hearing he was about to publish a translation of one of his Latin works, with the addition of notes, sent him letter after letter to induce him to refrain. "Let these hornets alone," said he ; "above all, do not bring me into these affairs. My burden is heavy enough. If you wish to dispute, so be it ; as for myself, I have no desire for it." And still further : "Ask a legation to a foreign country ; travel in Germany. You are acquainted with Beda and his companions ; it is a hydra with a thousand heads, which throws its poison on all sides. Your adversaries are a legion. Were your cause better than that of Jesus Christ, they would not re-

leave you till you have cruelly perished. Trust not too much to the protection of the king. At all events, do not commit me to a quarrel with the Theological Faculty."

Erasmus had exhausted all his trickery to make the brave man yield. "And do you know what I have gained by it?" said he, naively, to one of his friends. "I have redoubled his courage." In fact, Berquin resolved to take the offensive, and like the ancient king, to attack Rome in Rome. He drew from the works of Beda and his companions twelve propositions, which he declared before Francis I. were revolting, contrary to the Bible, and heretical.

The clamor was immense. What! the very defenders of the faith, the pillars of the Church, *they* saw themselves charged with heresy by a Lutheran who had a thousand times merited death itself! and after prosecuting others, were they to be driven to a justification of themselves!

The king, who was not indisposed to humble these turbulent doctors, wrote to the Sorbonne, ordering it to condemn the twelve propositions denounced by Berquin, or to establish them by texts from the Bible. The affair took a grave turn, and we know not what would have happened, if an image of the Virgin had not been mutilated, at that time, in a public place at Paris.

The Sorbonnists seized at once upon the circumstance. It is a vast conspiracy; it is an outrage against religion, against the prince, against the order and tranquillity of the realm! All laws will be overturned, all dignities abolished! Behold the fruit of the doctrine preached by Berquin! Behold the cries of the Sorbonne and the prince, the parliament, the people, the king himself, were raised. War upon the heretics of images! No more images for heretics! And Berquin returned as a victim for the Church altar.

Twelve commissaries, delegated by parliament, condemned him to make a public abjuration, and to remain imprisoned for the rest of his life, after having had his tongue pierced with a hot iron. "I appeal to the king," cried Berquin. "If you do not submit to our sentence," replied one of the judges, "we will prevent your appealing anywhere." "I would rather die," says Berquin, "than to allow even by my silence a condemnation also of the truth." "Let him, then, be strangled and burnt on the Place de Grève!" said the judges, with one voice.

They waited for the absence of Francis I. to execute the sentence; for they feared lest the last spark of affection for his loyal servant should revive in the breast of the monarch. The 10th of November, 1529, six hundred men escorted Berquin to the place of execution. He gave no sign of dejection. "You should have said (it is Erasmus who afterwards related it from an eye-witness) that he was in a library pursuing his studies, or in a temple meditating on holy things. When the butcher, with a rough voice, read to him his sentence, his countenance did not change. He descended from the cart with a firm step. It was not the stupidity of a hardened criminal; it was the serenity, the peace of a good conscience."

Berquin wished to speak to the people. They heard him not, for the monks had hired some wretches to drown his voice with their shouts. Thus the Sorbonne of 1529 gave to the people of Paris of 1793 the cowardly example of suffocating upon the scaffold the sacred words of the dying.

After the execution, Doctor Merlin, the Grand Penitentiary, said aloud to the people, that no person in France, perhaps, for more than a century, had died a better Christian.

III.

There was still a great number of Lutherans in the city of Meaux.¹

Faithful to their consciences, abandoned by their preachers, and disavowed by the bishop, they assembled in secret. An isolated cottage, the garret of a wool-carder, the copse of a forest, were all acceptable, if they could but read the Scriptures and pray together. From time to time, some one of their number was seized in his humble asylum and sealed his faith with his blood.

Preachers were scattered. James Lefèvre, after protracted sufferings, terminated his career at Néroc, under the protection of Margaret de Valois. Too old to play an active part in the French Reformation, he followed its progress at a distance. He said, in dying, "I give my body to the earth, my soul to God, and my property to the poor." These words have been engraved, it is said, on his tombstone.

William Farel was neither of an age nor a character to halt before the tide of persecution. When he left Meaux, he went to preach the Gospel in the mountains of Dauphiny. Three of his brothers joined his faith. Encouraged by this success, he travelled through cities and through the country.

His appeals agitating the whole region, the priests tried to

¹ We must observe that the name of *Protestant* was not generally given in France to the followers of the Reformation until the end of the seventeenth century, and it would not be more proper to call them so in the first half of our history than to designate, by the name of French, the contemporaries of Clovis. They were called in the beginning *Lutherans*, *Reformationists*; then, *Calvinists*, *Presbyterians*, *Religionists*, or *Men of the Religion*. They called themselves the *Reformationists*, the *Protestants*, the *Reformers*. The name of *Protestant* was then applied only to the disciples of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany.

raise a storm against him ; but his ardor increased with his peril. Wherever there was a place to set his foot, on the banks of rivers, among the ravines of rocks, in the bed of torrents, he found a spot to announce the new doctrine. They threaten him, he stands firm ; they surround him, he escapes ; they drive him from one place, he reappears in another. At last, when he finds himself shut in on all sides, he retires to Switzerland, through by-paths, and arrives at Basle in the commencement of the year 1524. There, to supply the deficiency of the living voice, he multiplies the written word, and gets some thousands of New Testaments printed, which are scattered in France by the hands of colporteurs. The Bible is a preacher which they can also burn, doubtless ; but it is a preacher which rises again from its ashes.

Here and there sprung up other missionaries of the Reformation. History should preserve their names. At Grenoble, Pierre de Seville ; at Lyons, Amédée Maigret ; at Macon, Michel d'Aronde ; at Annonay, Etienne Machopolis and Etienne Renier ; at Bourges and Orleans, Melchior Wolmar, a Greek professor, from Germany ; at Toulouse, Jean de Caturce, a licentiate in law and a professor.

The last suffered martyrdom under memorable circumstances. Under three charges he had been arrested in the month of January, 1532. He had proposed, on the eve of the king's festival, to substitute for the accustomed dances the reading of the Bible. Instead of saying, *Health to the king*, he had cried, *Let Jesus Christ reign in our hearts*. In fine, he had held an assembly for religious purposes at Limoux, his native town.

Brought before his judges, he said to them, "I am ready to justify myself in every point. Let educated men bring hither their books : we will discuss the case, article by article." But

they feared to attempt the proof. Jean de Caturce was a man of great sense ; he had a clear intellect, a prompt delivery, and he cited the Scriptures with astonishing appropriateness. They offered him pardon, on condition he would retract in a public lecture. He refused, and was condemned to death as an obstinate heretic.

Soon after, conducted to the place Saint-Etienne, he was degraded from his tonsure, and then from his title of licentiate. During this ceremony, which lasts three hours, he explained the Bible to the attendants. A monk interrupted him, to pronounce the *sermon of the Catholic faith*, in compliance with the custom of the Inquisitors. He had taken for a text these words of St. Paul, "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," and stopped there. "Go on, go on with the text," cries Caturce to him. But the other not opening his mouth, *he* pronounces, in a loud voice, the context: "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The monk was mute with shame, and the people admired the singular presence of mind of Caturce.

They clothed him in the dress of a buffoon, according to a usage introduced by the old persecutors of the Albigenses ; and brought again before his judges, who read to him his sentence of death, he cries out—"O palace of iniquity ! O seat of injustice." Two hundred and thirty years after, Jean Calas would have been able to utter the same words, in descending the steps of the same palace of Toulouse.

But the violence of persecution only multiplied proselytes. They were of every rank, and already so numerous in a canton of Normandy, that they called it *little Germany*, as we learn from a letter of Bucer, addressed to Luther in 1530. More than one monk threw aside his cowl to embrace the Reformed faith. I will cite a single example, which will be, in some degree, the type of a multitude of others.

Francis Lambert, born at Avignon in 1487, had conceived, from his infancy, a profound veneration for the Franciscans, who each day passed his door. "I admired," said he, "their austere costume, their meditative countenance, their downcast looks, their arms crossed devoutly, their solemn step; and I was ignorant that under these sheep-skins lurked foxes and wolves."

The ecclesiastics had also remarked the naïve enthusiasm of the young man. "Come with us," they said to him; "the cloister has good revenues; you will live in peace in your cell, and you will there follow your studies at your leisure." He was received as a novice at the age of fifteen years and three months. He passed his probation well. The monks were careful to conceal their quarrels and their disorders. "The year following I pronounced my vows," adds Lambert, "not having the least idea of what I was doing."

But now that they had no more fear of his leaving them, what sad disclosures! what cruel miscalculations! He expected to live among saints, and found only disorderly and impious men. When he expressed his sorrow, they laughed at him.

To leave the cloister without breaking his vows, he secured the title of *apostolic preacher*, but his position became no better. They accused him of neglecting the interests of the order. "When I returned, tired out, from my tours," said he, "insults and maledictions generally flavored my repasts." His comrades reproached him especially for having censured too severely

those who lodged them, although many were vile usurers, or frequenters of bad places. "Why do you make," said they, "these people enraged at us? They will give us no more from their table, or lodging." . . . "That is to say," continues Lambert, "that these slaves of their bellies fear less for the loss of the souls of their hosts than of their own dinners."

In despair, he had thought of making himself a Carthusian friar, that he might write, if he could not preach. But a new storm, and the most terrible of all, fell upon him. The monks discovered in his cell some of Luther's treatises. Luther in a religious house! They shouted with one voice, *Heresy! heresy!* and they burnt these writings, without reading a single line. "As for myself," said Lambert, "I believe that the works of Luther contain more true theology than can be found in all the writings of all the monks, since monks have been in the world."

They intrusted to him, in 1523, letters for the General of the order; but suspecting some perfidy, he profited by his liberty to pass the frontier of Germany, and placed himself at the feet of the chair of Luther. "I renounce," said he, in terminating his story, "all the rules of the Franciscan Friars, knowing that the holy Gospel should be my only rule, and that of all Christians. I retract all that I have taught contrary to revealed truth, and I pray those who have listened to me to reject it with myself. I absolve myself from all the ordinances of the pope, and I consent to be excommunicated by him, knowing that he is himself excommunicated by the Lord."¹

He married in the same year, 1523, and was the first monk of France who had broken the vow of celibacy. He returned to the frontiers, at Metz and Strasburg, and desired to go also

¹ Vide the account of Lambert in Gerdin. Hist. Bithum. t. IV. Dec. p. 21-22.

to Besançon. But, having everywhere encountered great obstacles, he returned to Germany, was elected professor at Martburg, and assisted to spread the Reformed faith in the country of Hesse. He died there in 1530, with the reputation of a faithful Christian, and a wise theologian.

While the new religion was making proselytes in the towns and in the country, and even in the convents of the provinces, it began, also, to penetrate Paris. It found there a powerful protector in Margaret de Valois. "Her name," says Theodore de Bèze, "is worthy of perpetual honor, on account of her piety, and the holy zeal she manifested for the advancement and preservation of the Church of God, so that to her we owe the life of many a good man."¹

Margaret de Valois was born at Angoulême in 1492. Married in 1509 to the Duke d'Alençon, and in 1527 to Henry II., king of Navarre, she was as eminent for her genius as for her rank. It is doubtful whether the collection of licentious stories that have been attributed to her came from her pen; but even if she had written them, it was but a fault of youth, which she afterwards nobly repaired. Margaret was virtuous in a corrupt court.

Having heard of a reform which cast off the yoke of human traditions, she wished to understand it, and conversed on the subject with Lefèvre d'Étaples, Farel, and Briçonnet. She was pleased with their ideas, read the Bible, and adopted the new doctrines, with that tinge of mysticism, however, which characterized some of those whose instructions she had received.²

The volume of poems she published, under the title of *Mar-*

¹ *Les vrais Portraits, &c.*

² We can only sketch here prominent traits. If any one wishes to know the principles of the *mystic school* of the early periods of the French Reformation, he must read the monography of *Gérard Roussel*, by M. le Professeur C. Schmidt, &c.

guerite de la Marguerite des Princesses, contains touching revelations of the state of her soul. She protected the preachers of the Reformation, gave them money for their travels, welcomed them in safe retreats, and delivered many from prison. Hence, in their correspondence, they call her the good Lady, the very excellent and very dear Christian.

Intelligent and devout, she had rendered to her brother, Francis I., while he was a prisoner at Madrid, services which could not be forgotten; and she had acquired an influence over him which she turned to the advantage of the new religion.

Francis I. never had fully known what he was, nor what he desired in the matter of religion. Gifted with qualities more brilliant than solid, he often mistook for profound calculations the changes of his humor. Proud, beyond measure, of being a knightly king, he had a passion for ancient chivalry, for arms, and adventures of gallantry, but he had no sterner loyalty. The Italy of the Borgias and the Machiavellis, so to speak, had tinged his character; and if he had not protected those men of letters who generously vindicated him before posterity, it would be asked, if he had any thing besides the appearances of the virtues which had gained him the name of a great king.

The Reformation pleased him, as it was an instrument of war against the monks, whom he despised; but it repelled, by its austere maxims, a prince who had peopled his court with favorites. The priests were never tired, moreover, in representing to him the followers of the new religion as the enemies of all social order. The historian Seckendorf cites a letter, dated at the court of France in 1530, where they were accused of seeking the downfall of princes, perfect equality of rights, and even the rupture of marriage ties, and the community of property. Francis I. was deeply stirred with these calumnies, and Brantome reports that he said: "These innovations tend to noth-

ing less than the overthrow of all monarchy, human and divine."

Hence we see why, at certain moments of his reign, although he was not naturally cruel, he appeared so merciless towards the Reformers. He believed he was acting like a statesman, and he tried to suppress, in streams of blood, the gloomy phantoms with which the Catholic clergy had peopled his fancy.

It was, nevertheless, a strange and interesting spectacle—that struggle between Margaret de Valois and her brother, in regard to the treatment of the Reformers. Sometimes it is the Christian woman who triumphs. Francis I. opposes the Sorbonne. He promises to protect the Lutherans *as much as he could, and more than had hitherto been in his power*. He desires to grant them what has been called *the mass in seven points*, or the suppression of seven abuses in the worship of the Roman Church. Sometimes it is the Catholic or political prince who appears the victor. Margaret de Valois bows before the vehemence of her brother, veils herself with docility and silence, resumes certain practices of Catholicism, and, in fine, conceals her faith in such a manner that we are still in doubt whether she died in the old communion or the new.

IV.

It seemed, in 1533, that better days were breaking upon the French Reformation. The queen-mother, Louise de Savoie, who thought to atone for the irregularities of her youth by a fanatical bigotry, had just died. Francis I. had made an alliance with the Protestants of the League of Smalcalde, and the influence of Margaret de Valois had increased. She improved her opportunity to offer the pulpits of Paris to Gérard Roussel,

Courault, and Bertault, who inclined towards the reformed doctrines. Bishop Jean du Bellay did not oppose them. He was a well-read man, and in his letters to Melancthon he signed himself—*Yours from the heart*.

The churches were crowded. Noël Bede and other doctors of the Sorbonne attempted to excite the people to rise; but they were exiled by the parliament. The wrath of the monks henceforth knew no bounds. They acted a play in their College of Navarre, in which Margaret de Valois, while reading the Bible, and throwing away her spindle, was suddenly changed into a fury of hell. The Sorbonnists condemned, at the same time, a volume of Margaret's, entitled *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, wherein she had mentioned neither saints, nor purgatory, nor any other redemption than that of Jesus Christ. A Franciscan friar declared in public that Margaret deserved to be confined in a sack and hurled to the bottom of the river.

This was more insolence than the king could endure. He caused the regents of the College of Navarre to be punished, and disavowed the censure of the Sorbonne by the whole university. He even said he would make the monk endure the very punishment with which he had menaced Margaret de Valois; but she interceded for him, and the punishment was commuted.

This disposition of Francis I. did not last long. Having had an interview with Clement VII., at Marseilles, in the month of October, 1533, in reference to the marriage of his son Henry with Catherine de Medici, niece of the pope, and wishing to secure the aid of that pontiff in the conquest of Milan, the dream of his whole life, he returned to Paris greatly incensed against the heretics. Many of the Lutherans or Sacramentarians, as they were then called, were cast into prison, and the pulpit intimated to their suspected preachers.

The new convents, already very numerous, did not endure

with patience all the blows of this persecution, and they lamented the loss of their pastors. At this time a certain Féret appeared, bringing from Switzerland placards against the mass, and proposed to scatter them throughout the kingdom. The more prudent opposed him, saying that too much precipitation would ruin all. But the more enthusiastic, as almost always happens in times of trial, had their own way.

On the 18th of October, 1534, the inhabitants of Paris found in the public places, at the corners of the streets, on the walls of the palace, on the doors of the churches, a placard with this title: "True articles upon the horrible, great, and intolerable abuses of the papal mass, invented directly against the holy Supper of our Lord, the only Mediator and only Saviour, Jesus Christ."

This document was written in a caustic and severe style. Popes, cardinals, bishops, and monks, denounced it with bitter invectives. It closed thus: "In fine, truth shows their vices, truth threatens them, truth pursues them, truth terrifies them, and by it their reign will soon be destroyed forever."

The people flock around the placards. Horrible reports are circulated, such as the mob always get up when they are enraged. They say that the Lutherans have formed a frightful conspiracy, that they will ruin the churches, burn every thing, massacre all. And the multitude cry: *Death, death to the heretics!* The priests, the monks, perhaps the first deceived, inflamed the popular fury. The magistrates, although more calm, are exasperated at such a bold attack against the ecclesiastical order of the realm.

At the Château de Blois, where Francis I. was then staying, the storm burst with equal violence. A placard had been fastened (many suspect by a hostile hand) to the very door of the king's chamber. The king thinks it an insult, not only to his authority, but against his person; and Cardinal de Tournon so

pressed this thought upon his heart, that he resolved, says an historian, to exterminate every heretic that fell into his power.

Orders are immediately given to seize the Sacramentarians, dead or alive. The criminal lieutenant, Jean Morin, pressed into his service a certain case-maker, who had been a messenger for secret assemblies, and to whom his life was promised, on condition that he would lead the king's officers into all the houses of the heretics. Some, informed in time, fled; others, men and women, those who had disapproved the placards, as well as those who favored them, were hurled promiscuously into prisons.

It is related, that the civil officer, having entered the house of Bartholomy Milon, who had the palsy: "Arise, let us go." "Alas! sir," replies the paralytic, "it needs a greater master than you to make me rise." The sergeants carried him, and he strengthened the courage of his companions in captivity.

They were soon brought to trial. But the Sorbonne and the clergy thirsted for more heretical blood. They wanted to strike the imagination of the people by a general procession, and persuading the king to assist them, they bound him firmly to the system of persecution. This fête marks an important epoch in our history; for it is the time when the people of Paris engaged in the struggle against the heretics; and once upon the scene, they disappear only at the end of the League. In the order of ideas and open acts, this procession, intermingled with butcheries, was the first of the bloody days of the sixteenth century; Saint Bartholomew, the Barricades, the assassination of Henry III., and the murder of Henry IV. must follow it.

A chronicler of the time, Simon Fontaine, a doctor of the Sorbonne, has left us a long description of it. It was the 29th of January, 1535. A countless multitude had gathered from all the surrounding country. "There was not a block of wood or

stone jutting out from the walls, where one could sit, which was not occupied. The roofs of the houses were covered with men, small and great, and the streets seemed paved with human heads."

Never had so many relics been paraded through the streets of Paris. The shrine of the Sainte-Chapelle was brought for the first time. The priests bore the head of Saint Louis, a piece of the true cross, the veritable crown of thorns, a nail and the iron of the lance which had pierced the body of the Lord. The shrine of Saint Genevieve, patron saint of Paris, was borne by the corporation of butchers, who had prepared themselves for this holy office by a long fast, and every one had a wish to touch the precious relic with the finger's end, or a handkerchief, or a bonnet.

Cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, caped and mitred, figured in their order. Then came the king, with his head bare, and a lighted taper in his hand; behind him marched all the princes, cavaliers, counsellors of parliament, tradesmen, fraternities. Along the streets the *bourgeois*, with burning torches, kneeled as the holy sacrament went by.

After mass, the king dined at the palace of the bishop with his sons, the queen, and the princes of the blood. When the repast was finished, he called the clergy, the ambassadors, the nobles, the presidents of the courts of justice, all the notables; and, having seated himself on a throne, he declared that he would not pardon, even in his own children, the crime of heresy, and that if he knew that one of the members of his body was infected with it, he would cut it off with his own hands.

The same day, six Lutherans were burnt. From fear that a word of faith or a prayer, coming out of the flames, might move the conscience of the butchers, they cut off, beforehand, the tongues of the most firm. They suspended them upon a mova-

ble gallows, which, rising and falling alternately, plunged them into the fire and then drew them out, till they were entirely consumed. This was the punishment of the *estrapade*. The ferocious Emperor of Rome, who desired that his victims should feel the agony of dying, had not invented that, and the Inquisition of Spain granted the Saracens and Jews the favor of being burnt more quickly.

On returning to the Louvre, Francis I. was a witness of these executions. The butcher waited till he appeared, in order to show him the spectacle.

An ordinance was immediately decreed, pronouncing the extermination of heretics, with pain of death to all who should conceal them, and a promise of the quarter of the property of the victims to their accusers.

Francis I. soon had cause to repent that he had yielded to this access of phrensy. The Protestants of Germany were indignant, and threatened to ally against him with the house of Austria. He declared to them, in explanation of his course, by his ambassador, William de Langer, that those who had been put to death were seditionists, Sacramentarians, and not Lutherans. He even tried to effect a reconciliation with the League of Smalcalde, the overtures of which had been made to Melancthon, in order to attract him to Paris, and he published an edict more mild, which ordered the release of those suspected of heresy, on condition that they would abjure within six months. This edict of Ormeau, drawn up for diplomatic reasons, was never fully carried out.

Margaret de Valois retired to Bearn, where her little court became the asylum of distinguished men who escaped from persecution. Many fugitive families brought into these provinces their industry and their fortune. Every thing assumed a new aspect. The laws were amended, the arts cultivated, agri-

culture improved, schools opened, and the people prepared to receive the lessons of the Reformation.

The Queen of Navarre died in 1549, lamented by the inhabitants of Bearn, who loved to repeat her generous maxim : " Kings and princes are not the masters and lords of the multitude, but only ministers, whom God has established to serve and protect them."

Marguerite de Valois was the mother of Jeanne d'Albret, and the grandmother of Henry IV.

V.

Exposed to the calumnies which descended from the throne, and spread through all Europe ; accused of being seditious, blasphemers, the enemies of God and man ; judged and condemned with closed doors ; having, in fine, their tongues cut out before they endured the last torment, the Protestants of France had no means of justification, and even their martyrdom was dishonored.

At this period appears the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, the most powerful of apologies. " Behold," says Calvin, in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, " what has induced me to publish the *Institutes* : first, in order to free from an unjust accusation my brethren, whose death was precious before God ; and, again, as the same cruelties hung over the heads of many poor faithful ones, that foreign nations might be touched with some compassion for their sufferings, and grant them their assistance."

This work announces the true leader of the French Reformation. Luther was too far away, and his German genius could not fully sympathize with ours. William Farel was too ardent ;

he lacked that firm, self-sustained character which is necessary to guide great enterprises. Others were obscure. The growing churches waited for a man capable of placing himself at their head ; and Calvin was that man.

His life is everywhere ; I will notice only what belongs to the plan of this history.

John Calvin was born in 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy. Designed in his youth for the priesthood, he was gratified with an ecclesiastical benefice at the age of twelve years. But the will of his father and his own having turned him from theology, he went to study law at Bourges and at Orleans. He there distinguished himself by his precocious intelligence, and austerity of morals.

The Reformation was then agitating all the schools of learning. Masters and pupils scarcely thought of any thing else, whether from a spirit of curiosity, or the demands of conscience and faith. Calvin was among the latter class, and the Bible he had received from the hand of his kinsman, Pierre Robert Olivétan, separated him from Catholicism, as it already had Zwingli and Luther. The three great Reformers arrived at the same end by the same road.

He was not one of those who keep silent what they believe. Auditors flocked around him, and the solitude he loved became impossible. "For my part," says he still further in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, "so far from being of an unsocial and retiring nature, I have always loved repose and tranquillity ; I began to seek some hiding-place, and means of separating myself from the world ; but, as the necessity increased, to accomplish my desire, all my retreats and by-places became like public schools."

Calvin saw that his time and his powers no more belonged to himself. He preached in secret assemblies at Bourges and at

Paris. "He promoted marvellously," says Theodore de Bèze, "the kingdom of God in many families, teaching the truth, not with an affected language, to which he had always been an enemy, but with such profound knowledge, and such solid gravity of words, that no man listened to him without the most ravished admiration." He was then twenty-four years of age.

A discourse which he composed, in 1533, for the rector of the University of Paris, and which was charged with heresy by the Sorbonne, forced him to fly. He saved himself, it is said, by a window. A few moments after the sergeant seized his lodgings.

He retired, under the name of Charles d'Espeville, to Angoulême, and was received into the house of the Canon Louis du Tillet, where he had a rich library at his service. He was already occupied with his great work on the Christian Religion; and he labored on it with so much ardor, that he often spent nights without sleeping and days without food. When he had finished a chapter, he read it to his friends; and on opening his manuscript, he had a custom of saying, "Let us find the truth."

He scattered the doctrines of the Reformation in the Poitou and the Saintonge, publicly when he could, secretly when the persecution was too violent. There is shown still, near Poitiers, an excavation which bears, by popular tradition, the name of the *Grotto of Calvin*. While in company there one day with several of his disciples, one of them said to him that the mass must be true, since it was celebrated in all Christendom. "Here is my mass," replied Calvin, showing them the Bible. Then, throwing his hat and cloak upon the table, and raising his eyes to heaven, he cried: "Lord, if, in the day of judgment, thou chargest me with not having been at mass, and that I have left

¹ Hist. of the Reformed Churches, p. 6.

it, I will say to thee with truth, Lord, thou hast not commanded it. Behold thy law; behold the Scriptures which thou hast given me, in which I have not been able to find any other sacrifice than that which was immolated on the altar of the Cross."

The Lord's Supper was celebrated in the interior of this grotto by Calvin and his friends. As, fourteen centuries before, the Christians communed in the Catacombs of Rome; so, two centuries after, the Protestants of France communed in the *desert*; and more recently, in the days of revolution, the Catholic priests have built their altars in the heart of the forest.

Constantly in danger of death, Calvin established himself at Basle, the city of refuge for the French, since the Geneva of the Reformation was not yet in existence. While there, he gave the last stroke to his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which appeared in the month of August, 1535.

This was the first Theological and Literary monument of the French Reformation. The truth of Calvin's ideas might be disputed, but there could be no doubt about his genius. He was of his time, as we are of ours. While he laid his premises on a level with the intellectual and moral character of his times, he developed them with an incomparable vigor of logic. His work is achieved.

Scattered far and wide through schools, the castles of the noblesse, the houses of the citizens, even the workshops of the people, the *Institutes* became the most powerful of preachers. Around this book the Protestants gathered, as around a standard. They found every thing there—doctrine, discipline, church organization—and the apologist of the martyrs was the legislator of their children.

We will not stop to speak of the lofty style of the *Institutes*. Calvin cared little for the glory of letters, although Bossuet has affirmed it. He went straight to things, and his expression be-

came clear, energetic, vivid, for he cared only for the justness of his thoughts.

In his dedicatory epistle to Francis I., he refutes the following objections, which were addressed to the disciples of the Reformation: Your doctrine is new and doubtful;—you do not confirm it by a single miracle;—you contradict the Fathers;—you overturn tradition and custom;—you make war upon the Church;—you engender seditions. In closing, Calvin supplicated the king to examine the Protestant Confession of Faith, in order that, seeing they were in harmony with the Bible, he might no longer treat them as heretics. “It is your office, Sire,” said he to him, “not to turn away your ears or your heart from so just a defence, especially since it is a question of great importance to know how the glory of God shall be maintained on the earth.... O, subject worthy of your attention, worthy of your jurisdiction, worthy of your royal throne!”

It is said that the king did not deign even to read this epistle. Some intrigue of court, or caprice of the Duchess d’Etampes, absorbed, apparently, all his leisure. If we overlook the hand of God as the controlling power of all things, and see the visible causes of events, on what would depend the political and religious destiny of nations?

His *Institutes* scarcely finished, Calvin went to Italy to see Renée de France, the daughter of Louis XII., and the Duchess of Ferrara, who had, like Margaret of Valois, opened her heart to the Reformed faith. They established a correspondence which was never interrupted, and Calvin still wrote to Renée, while upon her death-bed.

In 1536, he was appointed pastor and professor at Geneva. It is not within the province of our work to consider the religious, moral, intellectual, and political revolution which he introduced. Let us add only, that, from his new country, he did not cease to

act upon France by his books, his letters, and by the numerous students who, after having been trained by him, carried back into their churches what he had taught them. Calvin was the guide of the French Protestants, their counsellor, the soul of their first synods : and the immense influence he exercised over them was so generally acknowledged, that they received, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the name of *Calvinists*.

“ He was fired with the deepest enthusiasm for the advancement of his sect,” says Stephen Pasquier. “ We have sometimes seen our prisons full of wronged men, whom he exhorted without ceasing, consoled, confirmed by letters, and he never lacked messengers who could pass through the gates, notwithstanding the vigilance of the jailers.”¹

In considering the irreparable losses which the Reformer caused the Church of Rome, we are little astonished at the anathemas she had squandered upon him, and with which she still follows him. The depth of her wounds measures the strength of his blows. We do not write the apology of Calvin ; but some brief explanations should here have their place.

Calvin has been charged with ambition. He had only that of men of genius, who are elevated to the first rank by the very instinct of ordinary minds, and by the force of circumstances. In refusing to ascend, they would not be humble ; they would be faithless to their mission and prevaricators. The multitude who see them exalted so high, accuse them of pride ; they it is, who judge of the vocation of great souls by their own.

Calvin has also been called absolute and inflexible in his ideas. Yes, because he had strong convictions, with a consciousness of his superiority. And if we bear in mind the necessities of the age, we shall acknowledge, perhaps, that it was the only means

¹ *Recherches sur la France*, t. VIII, p. 311.

of saving the principles of the Reformation from sinking into oblivion.

That he appears to us, at our distance from him, with our opinions and our manners, as having fallen into great errors, is easily understood. But to judge correctly, we should place ourselves on his point of observation, on that of *his* age, and not our own.

The execution of Michael Servetus is incessantly recalled. If we call it a deeply deplorable act, we speak justly; but if we accuse Calvin with contradicting his own maxims, we shall demonstrate that we have never studied them. The Protestants have claimed the right of citizenship in Germany, in Switzerland, in France, in the name, and only in the name of divine truth, of which they judged themselves the faithful interpreters, and not at all in the name of liberty, belief, and worship. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to read the annals of their trials. We cannot find, throughout the volume of the *Martyrs*, by Crespin, a word in which there is a question of tolerance relating to the ideas of Bayle, of Locke, and the modern mind. They justify themselves by texts of the Bible, and challenge their adversaries to prove that their faith is not confirmed by it, or to absolve them. Their defence is there, and only there. If it had been proposed to them to grant to those whom they themselves regarded as heretics and impious, like rights with their own, they would have thought it rebellion against the law of God. It is not, then, Calvin who erected the funeral pile of Michael Servetus; it is the sixteenth century itself.¹

¹ The reader can consult on this subject the remarkable pages of M. Guizot, in the *Musée des Protestants célèbres*, Art. *Calvin*. The execution of Michael Servetus has furnished the subject of a disputation constantly renewed. An able historian of our day, M. Mignet, has just devoted a long and learned dissertation to it. It would lead us entirely beyond our plan to enter into these details. We simply indicate the following points: 1. Servetus was not an ordinary heretic; he was a bold pantheist, and

If *Thomas* *behold* here an excuse for her own intolerance, we allow it. But it is not one for her refinements of cruelty; it is not one for her butcheries *en masse*; nor for her perpetual violations of sworn faith. They should either have refused any treaty of peace or compromise of worship, or, when accepted, they should have regarded them.

Let us observe further, that the two communions were intolerant in the sixteenth century; the one by virtue of its principle, the other in spite of it. The Reformation, while insisting upon the right of individual examination, had indirectly established religious liberty. It had not at first perceived all the consequences of its principle, because the Reformers retained some of the prejudices of their early education; but it was obliged to disclose them sooner or later, and it is proper to regard it as the mother of all modern liberty.

Calvin only aided in the erection of one funeral pile. His heart was not cruel, and he had a horror of all acts of murder which had not been authorized by the regular sentence of a court of justice. More than once he restrained the hands of those who wished to bathe them in the blood of Francis de Guise, the butcher of Vassy. "I can protest," wrote he to the Duchess of Ferrara, "that it depended on me, before the war, that bold and resolute men did not exterminate him from the earth; they were restrained by my exhortations alone."

He was sometimes impatient and irascible, and he accuses

himself the enemy of all Christian communion. He says that even in three persons was a communion, a man, a woman and their child: & he had already been condemned to death by the Catholic Church in France, in England, &c. The other was judged not by Calvin, but by the magistrates of Geneva, and it is observed that his advice must have influenced their decision. It is necessary to remark that the attitude of the other Reformed version of *Reformation* appeared the measure with a measure of order: & it was, in fact, the highest measure of the Reformation to separate distinctly its views from those of any of the other Reformation. The Catholic Church, which in fact, the measure which with having participated in its condemnation, must have been excluded from the Reformation, with having indicated an equal.

himself of it. Nor was he a stranger to those sweet and affectionate sentiments which we hardly expect to find in the austere soul of a reformer. Read his correspondence with his intimate friends Farel and Viret : hear the voice of the man who repaced on the bosom of friendship from the painful duties of his office. With what emotion the minister Des Gallards, who had lived sixteen years with him, speaks of his kindness !

He died poor. His disinterestedness was so great, the abbot Bayle, in speaking of what he left, which, embracing his library, did not exceed the value of three hundred crowns, could not restrain an exclamation of admiration. "It is one of the rarest victories," said he, "that virtue and greatness of soul can achieve over nature, in those who exercise the evangelical ministry."

The prodigious labors of Calvin overwhelm our imagination. "I do not believe," says Theodore de Bèze, "that his equal can be found. Besides preaching every day, from week to week, very often, and as much as he was able, he preached twice every Sunday. He lectured on theology three times a week. He delivered addresses to the consistory, and also instructed at length every Friday before the Bible conference, which we call congregation ; and he continued this course so constantly till his death, that he never failed a single time, except in extreme illness. Moreover, who could recount his other common or extraordinary labors ? I know of no man of our age who has had more to hear, to answer, to write, nor things of greater importance. The number and quality of his writings alone is enough to astonish every man who sees them, and still more those who read them. And what renders his labors still more astonishing is, that he had a body so feeble by nature, so debilitated by his night labors and too great abstemiousness, and, what is more, subject to so many maladies, that no man who saw him could understand how he had lived so long ; and yet,

for all that, he never ceased to labor day and night in the work of the Lord. We entreated him to have more regard for himself; but his ordinary reply was that he was doing nothing, and that we should allow God to find him always watching and working as he could, to his latest breath."¹

Calvin died the 27th of May, 1564, aged fifty-five years, wanting one month. He was of a middle stature, had a pale countenance, dark complexion, and eyes brilliant and serene. He was careful and modest in his habits. He ate so little, that for many years he partook of but one repast a day.

Some weeks before his death, he dictated a will, in which he calls God to witness the sincerity of his faith, and renders to him thanks for having employed him in the service of Jesus Christ and of the truth.

VI.

The persecutions which we have thus far noticed appear moderate in comparison with those of which the Vaudois of Provence were the victims. To arrive at so frightful a butchery, we must go back to the extermination of the Albigenses.

The 18th of November, 1540, the Parliament of Aix gave out a proclamation as follows:—Seventeen inhabitants of Mérindol shall be burnt alive. Their wives, children, kinsmen, and servants shall be brought to justice; and if they cannot be seized, they shall be banished perpetually from the realm. The houses of Mérindol shall be burnt and razed to their foundations, the groves cut down, the fruit-trees torn up, and the place rendered uninhabitable, so that no person can rebuild it. "A decree,"

¹ *Vie de Calvin*, pp. 44, 122, and *passim*.

says a chronicler of the time, "the most exorbitant, cruel, and inhuman, that was ever made by any parliament, and in every respect like the edict of King Ahasuerus against the people of God."

A cry of horror rose throughout Provence. We are pained to say that the priests were the most ferocious to follow up the execution of the judgment. And when the chief president, Chassanée, represented to them that the king might be indignant at so great a destruction of his subjects, "If the king at first view disapproves it," said a bishop, "we will change his mind: we have the cardinals on our side, especially Cardinal Tournon, to whom nothing could be more acceptable."

The Vaudois presented a petition to Francis I., who, desiring then to live on good terms with the Protestant princes of the empire, commissioned William de Langey, who had been his ambassador in Germany, to make inquiries about this community. I borrow from his report, and from other historians of the time, the following details.

These Vandois formed a population of about eighteen thousand souls. They had come from Piedmont and Dauphiny into Provence, and lived there nearly three hundred years. When they came, the country was uncultivated, and exposed to continual depredations from brigands; but cultivated by their hands, it yielded abundant harvests. This domain, which, before their occupation, was scarcely rented for four crowns, brought three or four hundred. They had built Mérindol, Cabrières, and twenty other boroughs or villages.

They were a peaceable people, of good morals, beloved by their neighbors, faithful to their promises, paying promptly their debts, taking care of their poor, and charitable towards the stranger. They could not be induced to blaspheme, or to swear in any manner; they took an oath only when they were required to in a court of justice. They were still more noted for

the fact that if they found themselves in a company where dishonorable things were said, they immediately withdrew, to signify their displeasure.

They could be reproached with nothing except that, when they went through the cities and market-places, they did not visit the churches of the convents, and if they entered them, they made their prayers without regarding the saints. They passed the crosses and images at the waysides, without manifesting any reverence. They did not say mass, or *libera me*, or *de profundis*; they touched no holy water, and if it was offered to them in their houses, they gave no thanks. They went on no pilgrimage to gain pardon. When it thundered, they did not make the sign of the cross, and they carried no offering for the living or the dead.

Long unknown, the Vaudois excited neither the cupidity of the priests nor the anger of the nobility; and those gentlemen whose revenues they increased, granted them their protection. They chose their pastors, or *Barbes*, as they called them, from their own number, to instruct them in the knowledge and practice of the Scriptures.

The king, Louis XII., while passing through Dauphiny in 1501, first heard these people denounced as heretics. He had the matter examined, and having read the report, he ordered the records of the proceedings already commenced to be thrown into the Rhone, saying, "These people are better Christians than we."

When they heard, about the year 1530, of the preaching of Luther and Zwingli, they sent into Switzerland and Germany some of their *Barbes*, who discovered in the Reformation a sister of their own communion. Encouraged by these new friends, they printed at Neuchâtel, in 1535, the first edition of the Bible translated into French by Robert Olivétan. It is said they expended for it several hundred crowns of gold.

The Roman clergy were irritated, and much more, in consequence of some of the nobility, lawyers, judges, and even theologians, turning to the side of the heretics. An edict was issued in 1535 against the Vandois. A second, the one we have cited, was pronounced in 1540. Francis I., adopting the advice of William de Langey, granted them letters of pardon, but on condition they re-entered the Church of Rome within three months. This took back with one hand what had been given by the other.

These brave people lost not their courage. They sent to the Parliament of Aix, and to Francis I., their confession of faith, in which they had taken care to establish all their doctrines, article by article, on texts of Scripture. Having heard this confession read, the king, in amazement, says Crespin, demanded in what place any one could find a fault, and no one dared to open his mouth to confute it.

The bishops of Provence, not being supported in their system of persecution, commissioned three doctors of theology to convert the Vandois; but, marvellous to tell! all three were themselves converted to the proscribed religion. "I must confess," said one of these doctors, after having interrogated some catechumens, "that I have often been to the Sorbonne to hear the discussions of theologians, and that I have not learned so much as I have in hearing these little children."

The rage of the priests was at its height; and the chief-president, Chassanée, being dead, they persuaded his successor, John Meynier, Baron d'Oppède, to persecute the heretics with the utmost rigor. At the same time they sent memorials to the king, in which the Vandois were accused of wishing to take Marseilles, in order to form a kind of republican canton, after the example of the Swiss. Francis I. was not a dupe of this ridiculous story; he knew well that a few thousand poor peasants could not make Provence a republic. But he had concluded

with Charles V., through the mediation of Paul III., a treaty, in which both monarchs had promised to exterminate heresy. The prince was, also, seriously ill, and Cardinal de Tournon, aided by several bishops, entreated him, in the name of his eternal salvation, to revoke his letters of pardon. He then wrote to the Parliament of Aix, the 1st of January, 1545, to execute the edict pronounced against the Vaudois.

The Baron d'Oppède, who appeared to have brought motives of jealousy and personal vengeance into this horrible enterprise, gathered bands of mercenaries, who, in the wars of Italy, had been accustomed to the most frightful brigandages. He appointed over them some officers of Provence, and began the campaign the 12th of April. An execrable carnage began. They were no longer, says an historian, gentlemen or soldiers; they were butchers.

The Vaudois were surprised and massacred, as in a chase of wild beasts; their houses were burnt, their harvests despoiled, their trees torn up, their wells filled, their bridges destroyed. All was given to fire and blood; and the peasants of the neighboring regions, joining with the murderers, completed the pillage of the miserable remains of the devastation.

Those of the Vaudois who had been able to escape were wandering through the forests and mountains; but the feeble, the old, women and children, were forced to remain, and the soldiers killed them, after satiating their brutal passions. At Méranche, there remained a poor idiot who had promised two crowns to a soldier for his ransom. D'Oppède gives them from his purse to dispose of the unfortunate wretch; and fastening him to a mulberry-tree, he commanded him to be killed with the blow of an arquebuse. More than one nobleman could not restrain his tears.

The 12th of April, on the call of the vice-legate, this army of

butchers enter into *le comtat Venaissin*, which belonged to the pope, and new bands of brigands flock together under the conduct of the priests. They besieged the village of Cabrières. Sixty men, the only ones who had remained there, held out bravely for twenty-four hours. They were promised their lives, but they had scarcely gone out without arms, when they were hacked in pieces. Some women, shut up in a barn, were burned alive. A soldier, moved with pity, wished to let them escape, but they were driven back into the flames at the point of the halberd. The church of Cabrières was desecrated by infamous debaucheries, and the steps of the altar were covered with blood. The clergy of Avignon blessed the murderers; they had ordered them to give no quarter. The day was coming when the *Glacières* of Avignon were to witness other victims! There is justice on earth for the privileged classes who abuse their power; it is sometimes slow, but it is sure.

The Vaudois perished in great numbers in their wild retreats. The vice-legat and the Parliament of Aix had forbidden, under pain of death, any one to give them an asylum or food; "which destroyed," says Bouche, the historian of Provence, "a very great number of them." Many of these wretches supplicated D'Oppède to accord to them the grace of going away without carrying any thing but their under garments. "I know what I have to do with the people of Mérindol and their like," he replied: "I will send them to dwell in the country of hell—they and their children."

Two hundred and fifty prisoners were put to death, after a mock trial; an act more atrocious, perhaps, than the massacre, since it was perpetrated in cold blood. Others, the younger and the more robust, were sent to the galleys. Some succeeded in reaching the frontiers of Switzerland. The name of the Vaudois disappeared almost entirely from Provence,

and their country again became a wilderness, as it was three centuries before.

History has preserved the pious words which were uttered by those of the Vaudois who had found shelter, with their pastors, in the gorges of the mountains. Preparing themselves for death, and looking from a distance on the burning ruins of their habitations, the aged and the young exhorted one another. "The least anxiety we have," said they, "is for our property and our life; but the great and principal fear which troubles us is, lest we should grow faint in the confession of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Gospel. Let us cry to God, and he will have mercy upon us."

The massacre of the Vaudois roused a universal indignation in France. Men were not so merciless then as they became during the wars of religion. The king complained that his orders had been transgressed; but, sick and almost dying, he was overcome by the remonstrances of Cardinal Tournon, and had not courage to punish the butchers. But, in his last hours, he charged his son to take vengeance upon them, adding, that if he did not, his memory would be execrated through the entire world.

The affair was, in fact, brought before the Parliament of Paris, in 1530: it occupied fifty sittings. The advocate of the Vaudois, or rather of the Lady du Cental, who complained of having been ruined, spoke seven days in succession, with an energy which showed things instead of relating them. The Baron d'Oppède spoke in his own defence, and dared to begin his pleading with these words of the Psalmist: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation." He was acquitted. The advocate-general, Guérin, was alone condemned to death; and they took care to observe in his sentence that he had committed misdemeanors in the management of the king's revenues, as if a whole people butchered was not in the eyes of these judges a sufficient crime!

VII.

Towards the close of the reign of Francis I., and during that of his son Henry II., the Reformation advanced so rapidly in France, it is impossible for us to follow it in all its details. Men of letters, lawyers, soldiers, the clergy themselves, flocked eagerly around its banner. Several large provinces, Languedoc, Dauphiny, Lyonaia, Guyenne, Saintonge, Poitou, Orleanais, Normandy, Picardy, Flanders—the principal cities of the kingdom, Bourges, Orleans, Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, La Rochelle, swarmed with Reformers. It was computed that they formed in a few years nearly a sixth of the population; and they were the *élite* of society. They might have repeated the saying of Tertullian: “We date from yesterday, and we are everywhere.”

If persecution alienated some, it attracted a greater number by the instinct which rouses the human conscience against injustice, and makes it incline to the side of the oppressed. Moreover, above the ferocity of the butchers hovered the constancy and serenity of the martyrs.

The movement once given, every thing was stirred. There was in all minds and hearts, and, so to speak, in the very air men breathed, an immense necessity for religious reformation. They began to reflect that religion ought not to transmit itself like a name or an inherited estate, but that it should be scanned for itself, and by itself, by every individual, before its reception. They also began to consider more closely the enormous abuses of the Roman Church, and they separated themselves by multitudes from that degenerate communion.

The ecclesiastical benefices were distributed, especially after

the Concordat which had abolished the elective forms, to the favorites of court, officers of the army, intriguing men, and even to children;—all incapable of supplying the demands of their stations. There were supernumerary priests, who were called, in derision, flying or portable bishops. The cardinals furnished an example for disorder. The prelates lived scandalously at Paris. The members of the inferior clergy were, in general, immoral and avaricious monks, ignorant and dishonest. Their conduct was contrasted with that of the Reformed preachers, who were, for the most part, simple, poor, and solemn, and the comparison was so striking, that honest hearts could not resist it. With the exception of a few great nobles on the one hand, and the populace on the other, the Church of Rome was annihilated in France.

Of the nobles of the provinces, those who were not corrupted in the atmosphere of the royal household, were generally favorable to the new ideas. They cherished against the privileges of the priests, and against their territorial encroachments, a secret but ancient hostility, which waited only for a fit opportunity to break forth. They had also great leisure in the retirement of their castles, since the wars between different nobles were severely interdicted; and by reading the Scriptures in the evening around the feudal fireside, they were constrained, almost without their knowledge, to credit the teachings of Luther and Calvin.

The gentry, who had pursued a literary course, advocates, jurists, professors, the principal *bourgeois*, favored, in consequence of their very studies, these opinions. "Above all," naïvely says a very devoted Catholic historian, "painters, clock and image makers, silversmiths, book-traders, printers, and others, who, in their professions, have some nobleness of mind, were the first to be easily ensnared."¹

¹ Florim. de Rémond, *Hist. de la naissance, etc., de l'hérésie de ce siècle*, l. VII. p. 981.

Merchants, who travelled in foreign countries, brought back impressions favorable to the Reformation. They had been able to discover that this religion, while correcting the morals of the people, developed at the same time their commerce, and contributed to advance their industry.

Many ecclesiastics, secular and regular, were also roused in the provinces. Having received orders without having learned any thing besides the barbarous theology of the schools, they had taught their dogma in good faith. But, brought to face the new doctrines, they saw fastened to them the seal of truth. They then undertook to live in another way; and while working with their hands to sustain life, they preached in secret the doctrines of the Reformation. They were encouraged by the expectation that Rome would sooner or later hold with the Reformers a general council. Hence there have appeared to some, contradictions, which were not sufficiently understood by our ancient historians.

The colporteurs of Bibles and religious writings aided powerfully in these conquests of the new faith. They were called *porte-balles*, *porte-paniers*, or booksellers. They belonged to different classes of society; many were students of theology, or even ministers of the Gospel.

The printing-presses of Geneva, Lausanne, and Neufchâtel, established specially for the spread of religious works over France, furnished them with books. And then with staff in hand, a basket upon their back, through heat and cold, upon distant roads, across ravines and marshes, they knocked from door to door, often unkindly received, always threatened with death, and ignorant in the morning where their head would repose at night. It was by these men, especially, that the Bible penetrated the manor of the noble and the thatched cottages of the villagers.

Exposed, like the ancient Vandois of Piedmont, to cruel perse-

cutions, the new colporteurs imitated their address of placing on the top of their packs pieces of cloth or other unsuspected articles, and thus guarding the prohibited merchandise beneath. "In order to gain easier access in the cities, in the country houses, and the mansions of the noblesse," says again Florimond de Rémond, "some of them were peddlers of little trinkets for the ladies of the house, concealing at the bottom of their packs those little tracts which they presented to the girls; but it was done secretly, and as though it was something very rare, and that would give them a better taste."¹

The large number of victims which they furnished for the scaffolds and funeral piles, leads us to believe that these humble pack-bearers were very numerous. We cannot dwell here; but history ought to regard their heroic devotion enough, at least, to relate the martyrdom of one of them.

A native of Dauphiny, named Pierre Chapot, after having resided for a while at Geneva, was employed as proof-reader of a printing establishment at Paris, and, in his leisure moments, was engaged in selling religious books. An informer of the Sorbonne surprised him in 1546, and Chapot was summoned before the *Chambre ardente* of the parliament. His mild air, his modest deportment, his appeals to the judges for justice, the Bible which he invoked with confidence, attracted the notice of the judges, and he obtained permission to enter into a dispute with three doctors of theology. These appeared, much against their will, declaring that it would lead to unfortunate results, should they consent to dispute with heretics.

Chapot supported himself upon texts of Scripture, and the others replied to him from councils and traditions. Then turning to the counsellors, the accused supplicated them to listen

¹ Florim. de Rémond, *Hist. de la noblesse*, etc., t. VII. p. 374.

only to the declarations of the Gospel. Stung to the quick, the Sorbonnists said to the judges: "Why do you allow yourselves to be led about at the fancy of a miserable and crafty heretic? Why must we dispute upon points already censured and condemned by the Faculty of Theology? We will make complaints of this to the proper authority." And they all left, much irritated.

When they had gone, the colporteur said with a calm voice, "You see, gentlemen, that these men return nothing but cries and menaces for reasons; there is no need of my trying further to make you recognize the justice of my cause." And falling upon both knees, with his hands clasped, he supplicated God to inspire the company with a right judgment, for the honor and glory of his name. Some of the judges, moved with compassion, advised his release. But the contrary opinion prevailed, and he obtained no other favor than that of not having his tongue cut out before he was burnt alive.

They led him to the Place Maubert. He was assisted by two men to mount upon the cart, for the rack had broken his limbs. From that new seat, he cried: "Christian people, although you behold me brought to die like a malefactor, and though I know I am blamable for all my sins, I pray each one who hears me, to understand that I now die like a true Christian, and not for any heresy, or because I am without God. I believe in God the Father all-powerful, and in Jesus Christ, who, by his death, has delivered us from eternal death. I believe that he was conceived of the Holy Ghost, that he was born of the Virgin Mary. . . ."

He was interrupted by Doctor Maillard, one of those with whom he had disputed before the parliament. "Monsieur Pierre," said he to him, "here it is you ought to ask pardon from the Virgin Mary, whom you have so grievously offended."

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¹ Florim. de Rémond, *Hist. de la naissance, etc.*, l. VII. p. 874.

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"Monsieur, I pray you," replied the sufferer, "allow me to speak; I will say nothing unworthy of a good Christian. As to the Virgin Mary, I have not offended her, nor would I do it." "Eh! say only an *Ave Maria*." "No, I will not say it." And he repeated, without ceasing, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me!" At that moment, the doctor ordered the cord to be drawn, and the martyr gave up his soul to God.

After the execution, the theologians of the Sorbonne made great complaints to the *Chambre-ardente*, and declared that if they permitted these heretics to speak, all would be lost. The parliament decided that the condemned should all have their tongues cut, without exception!

The disciples of the new religion had among themselves signs of recognition; and when they were too numerous to form a single assembly, they separated into *little bands*. The most resolute, or the most learned, explained the Bible. There were sometimes poor artisans, who, in their turn, made exhortations. They assembled in the evening, in the night, or early in the morning, in order to escape the notice of their enemies. Every place was serviceable for these assemblies; a barn, a cellar, a garret, the depth of a forest, a cavern among the rocks of the mountain.

They disguised, in certain places, the object of their meetings by means which at once reveal the simplicity and the severity of the times. "In order to hold assemblies," says Florimond de Rémond, in speaking of those at Paris, "they made choice of some house which had secret doors, that they might save themselves in case of an emergency, and also that they might enter by different avenues. And he who did the preaching carried with him dice and cards, in order to throw them upon the table in the place of the Bible, and to conceal their business by play. . . . The minister of Mantes was more prudent: when preach-

ing in hiding-places, at Paris, at the Croix-Verte, near the Louvre, he placed counters and deceptions upon the table, to deceive the guests who were not of his flock."¹

When a pastor visited these little assemblies, in passing, it was a great joy to all. They listened to him for many hours; they received from his hand the symbols of the Lord's Supper; they recounted mutually the persecutions they had endured, those they still expected; and when separating, said to each other, Adieu! for the scaffold and the sky.

So long as a regular church organization was not formed, and during the absence of a minister of the Gospel, they abstained from the administration of the sacraments. Calvin and the pastors of the Reformation did not wish to authorize every little company to receive the communion from a man without a recognized vocation. "We are not at all of the opinion that you should begin in this manner, and that you should hasten to partake of the Lord's Supper, but that you should wait till you have an organization established among you," wrote Calvin, in 1553, to the faithful scattered through the Saintonge.

But if they were at first deprived of the sacraments, they observed great strictness of morals and discipline. The wicked were rebuked, the erring admonished, and the authors of scandals excluded from the communion. "They declared themselves," says the historian whom I do not cease to cite, because he appears to have been well acquainted with the disciples of the Reformation, "they declared themselves the enemies of luxury, public debauchery, and wantonness of the world, too much in vogue among the Catholics. In their assemblies and festivals, instead of dances and hautboys, they had readings of Bibles, which lay on the table, and spiritual chants, especially

¹ Florim. de Rémond, *Hist. de la naissance, etc.*, l. VII. p. 310.

psalms, when they were in rhyme. The women, by their modest manner and dress, appeared in public like mourning Eves or repentant Magdalens, as Tertullian said of those of his time. The men, all subdued, seemed to be smitten by the Holy Spirit.”

Popular opinion was not misled, and Catherine de’ Medici said one day in her frivolous language, “I will turn myself to the new religion, in order to pass for prude and pious.”

This was the most florid and pure epoch of the French Reformation. There were, indeed, among the faithful, some restless and turbulent spirits, who joined them from a vain passion for novelty; there were also busy-bodies, who compromised the common cause, and lukewarm souls, whom one has called temporizers, go-betweens, Nicodemites. But the rivalries of the great houses of the kingdom and political quarrels were not yet mingled with religion. The Reformers suffered, and took no revenge; they accepted death without attempting to return it, and were manifestly more severe towards themselves than towards their enemies.

VIII.

In a more enlightened age, the great progress of the Reformation would soon have led to a compromise; but the minds of men were not yet matured, and no one thought of the possibility of having two religions in the same state.

Francis L, besieged by women and priests, died in 1547, little regretted by Catholics, who reproached him with not having done enough for the Church, and by the Protestants, who ac-

¹ Florim. de Rémond, *Hist. de la renaissance, etc.*, l. VII. p. 864.

cused him of having cruelly persecuted them. His son, Henry II, who succeeded him, was aged twenty-nine years. He had a mild temper, an open countenance, a copious and ready flow of words, with grace of manner; but he lacked all the high qualities of a king. Little acquainted with business, and incapable of devoting himself to it with attention, he passed the best portion of his time in diversions with his familiars at court. The government fell into the hands of favorites of both sexes: Anne de Montmorency, the Duke Francis de Guise, the Marshal de Saint André, Diana de Poitiers, duchess de Valentinois; and it was during his reign those great factions began which covered France with ruin and blood.

Henry II, in connection with his Italian wife, Catherine de' Medici, opened the court to the arts of magic and sorcery. Hence acts of shameless credulity towards some, and of cold impiety of others. "Two great sins," says an old historian, "were introduced into France under the reign of that prince, viz., atheism and magic."

At the fêtes of the coronation of the queen, in 1549, Henry II. displayed great magnificence; and as voluptuousness and blood have natural affinities, he was anxious to join to the pomp of the tournaments the spectacle of the sacrifice of four Lutherans.

One of them was a poor tailor, or *seamster*, whom they had imprisoned for having worked on prohibited days, and spoken unguardedly against the Church of Rome. The king having expressed the desire of interrogating for a pastime some one of the heretics, the Cardinal of Lorraine had the seamster brought before him, supposing that he could not utter a word of sense. But he was mistaken. The tailor exhibited before the king and the priests great presence of mind. The favorite Diana of

¹ John de Serres, *Recueil de choses mémorables*, etc., p. 64.

Poitiers, according to the account of Crespin, wished him to tell his own story, but she found a tailor who cut his cloth differently from what she expected. For not being able to endure an arrogance so unbounded as that which he knew was the cause of such cruel persecutions, he said to her, "Content yourself, madam, with having infected France, without mingling your poison and corruption with so holy and sacred a thing as the true religion, and the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Henry II. was so irritated with this effrontery, that he determined to see him burnt alive. He then placed himself at a window in front of the funeral pile. The poor seamster, having recognized him, turned upon him a look so firm, so fixed, impressed with so much calmness and courage, that the king could not bear that mute but terrible accusation. He went to a distance, affrighted, troubled in the depths of his soul, and for many nights thought he saw the sinister ghost of his victim stand before his pillow. He took an oath that he would never again attend one of these frightful punishments, and kept his word. A prince more truly Christian would have abolished them.

But far from becoming allayed, the persecution increased. In 1551 appeared the famous edict of Châteaubriant, which granted to the lay and ecclesiastical judges the exclusive jurisdiction of the crime of heresy, so that, by a complete annihilation of all justice, the accused, acquitted before one tribunal, could be condemned before another.

There was an express prohibition against interceding for them, and decisions must be executed without appeal. A third part of the property of the condemned went to the informer. The king confiscated for himself the property of those who fled from France. It was forbidden to send either money or letters to the

fugitives. The obligation was even imposed upon the suspected of presenting a certificate of Catholic orthodoxy. This atrocious legislation was copied in the days of terror, but with mitigation.

The basest profligacy prevailed. A particular favorite or courtesan, as the reward of the most shameful services, obtained the spoils of a family, or even an entire canton. They disputed, they divided in broad day, in the face of the people, the possessions of the victims. They denounced, and if it was necessary, they invented heretics, to swell the confiscations; and many abbeys or noble mansions enlarged their domains, as they did still more after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. They have since lost these possessions, so wickedly acquired: the judgments of God are executed in their time.

The edict of Châteaubriant was not enough. Pope Paul IV., Cardinal Lorraine, the Sorbonne, a multitude of priests, demanded that France should become a land of the Inquisition. A bull was sent forth to this effect in 1557, and the king confirmed it by an edict. But in vain did he try to force the Parliament into such an act. The lay magistrates temporized, adjourned, and in the midst of so much disgrace, that, at least, was spared to France.

Exasperated by these delays, the headlong Paul IV., whose brain, it is said, was deranged by age, fulminated a bull, in which he declared that all who fell into heresy—prelates, princes, even kings and emperors—should be degraded from their benefices, dignities, kingdoms, and empires, which he would deliver to the first Catholic seizer, without the possibility of their restitution, even by the Holy See. Paul IV. misunderstood the times: under the pontificate of Gregory VII., or of Innocent III., such a bull would have put Europe in a blaze; under his own, it was only an act of folly.

But in default of the Inquisition, the Sorbonne and the clergy made the kindling of rage against the heretics the holiest of

duties, and neglected nothing to inflame the popular mind with implacable fanaticism. Its effects were seen in the affair of the street Saint-Jacques, in the beginning of September, 1557.

The battle of Saint-Quentin had just been lost. Arms had been distributed to the people, with the order to hold themselves ready for any emergency. Every man feared he should see the Spaniard at the gates of Paris, and in the common terror, they accused themselves with having been too mild towards the heretics. "We have not avenged enough the honor of God, and God avenges himself upon us," cried the people and the clergy with one voice. Thus, when Rome was attacked by the barbarians, the pagans accused themselves with having shown too much lenity towards the Christians. Thus, when Paris was menaced in 1792, after the surrender of Verdun, they accused themselves with having spared the clergy and aristocracy, and so made the days of September. The outbursts of the passions are ever the same.

Three or four hundred of the faithful were assembled in the evening, to celebrate the Lord's Supper, in a house of the street Saint-Jacques, in the rear of the Sorbonne. They counted many noblemen and lawyers. The ladies and demoiselles, with the exception of four or five, belonged to noble families: there were several there from the court.

Some bachelors or doctors in theology, who were lodged at the Sorbonne, had been on the watch, and gave the signal of alarm. Fearing that the assembly would separate before they had collected in a body, they had piled a great heap of stones to hurl at those who should go out. In fact, towards midnight, the service being finished, the faithful opened the door; but scarcely were they upon the threshold, when they were assailed with a shower of stones, accompanied with frightful vociferations, and forced to re-enter.

At the sound of this tumult, all that part of the city awakes. They cry, "To arms!" Ominous rumors agitate the crowd. "Is it the Spaniard who has surprised the city?" "No, not yet," say some, "but these are traitors who have sold the kingdom to the enemy." "No," reply others, "they are these Lutherans; these damned heretics, who rejoice in the misfortunes of France. Death, death to the heretics!" The street is soon filled with men armed with halberds, pikes, javelins, arquebuses, with every thing which chances to fall into their hands.

The faithful, fearing an instant massacre, fall upon their knees, and beseech God to come to their rescue. Then they deliberate what to do. Should they attempt to protect themselves by a barricade, till the arrival of the police, they would only devote themselves to an almost certain death. To try to open a passage through this furious multitude was scarcely less dangerous. The boldest resolve, notwithstanding, to do it, convinced that the only means of stopping their adversaries is to assume a determined countenance. The gentlemen draw their swords and take the lead; the rest follow. They push through the multitude, in the midst of a shower of stones and between the pikes of the assailants. But the night favors them; they escape with wounds. Only one fell; he was trampled under foot, and so mutilated that he lost the aspect of humanity.

What shall happen, however, to those who have not dared to go out? They are almost all women and children. They wish to flee through the gardens, but all the avenues are guarded. At the break of day they attempt to descend into the street, but they are beaten and driven back. The females, relying upon the pity which their feebleness commands, present themselves at the windows, and implore, with clasped hands, the compassion of the wretched men who began to force the doors; but there was no mercy in that crowd of madmen. And now, committing

their lives to God, they prepare to die ; when morning came, the civil officer arrived with a troop of sergeants.

He inquires what has happened, and learning that the assembly have spent the time in reading the Bible, in celebrating the Lord's Supper, and in praying for the king, and for the prosperity of the kingdom, he is so touched with the facts, that tears burst from his eyes. But he must do his duty. He immediately orders the men to go forth bound two by two ; they are insulted and struck, especially those who, by their beards or long garments, seemed to be preachers. He desires to guard the females in the house ; but the people threaten to set it on fire. They go out in their turn. The crowd assault them with the most brutal language, their garments are torn in pieces, their hair dishevelled, and they reach the prison du Châtelet, with their faces covered with filth and blood. From a hundred and twenty to a hundred and forty victims were there enclosed.

Execrable reports were circulated against the new believers, from the pulpits, the confessionals, the colleges, in the markets, at the court itself. They hit on no new invention ; they were, word for word, the old calumnies of the pagans against the assemblies of the primitive Christians. They accused the heretics of not believing in God, of immolating little children, of extinguishing the lights . . . I will not go on. Read again the history of the primitive Church.

And as it should, it seems that, in human affairs, the ridiculous is always found by the side of the tragical : a certain Bishop d'Avranches circulated all over Paris a pamphlet in which, comparing the sound of the bells in the Catholic service with that of the arquebuses which had interrupted the Lutheran worship, he drew out a succession of antitheses : " The bells sound, and the arquebuses thunder ; those have a mild sound, and these are frightful ; those open heaven, these open hell . . ." And

the buffoon prelate concluded from this that Catholicism has all the signs of the true Church.

The Reformers published apologies, which they secretly threw into the chamber of the king. But they solicited in vain a serious examination. Their enemies did not wish it; they thought it more convenient to applaud the bands of wretches who, flocking together daily on the squares devoted to capital punishments, demanded with loud cries the blood of the heretics.

Towards the end of September, three prisoners were placed in the chapel—an old man, a young man, and a woman—Madame de Graveron, of the family of Luna, in Périgord. She was only twenty-three years of age, and had been a widow but a few months. At the moment of going to execution, she threw off her mourning dress, and invested herself, says Crespin, with a velvet hood and other festal ornaments, as if she were to receive a glorious triumph.

After these three victims, four others were sacrificed. But Protestant Europe was moved at the voice of Calvin and Farel. The Swiss Cantons, Count Palatin, the Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Marquis of Brandenburg, interceded for the prisoners. Henry II. needed the support of the Protestants, and granted them pardon. The whole affair was most dishonorable, until an act of amnesty was extorted from the king by foreign intervention.

IX.

Beaten from without by the most violent storms, the French Reformation struggled to strengthen itself within. Its organization had been for a long time necessarily defective and incomplete. At first, as we have seen, they were simple assem-

blies, without stated pastors or the regular administration of the sacraments. There were then no churches, in the dogmatic sense of the word, but only the germs and the scattered elements of churches. So they remained for about thirty years.

Subsequently the flocks had a consistory, ministers, a stable authority, a recognized discipline. The example had been set in 1555, by the faithful of Paris. A gentleman, who received them into his house, M. de la Ferrière, proposed to them the choice of a pastor. They raised numerous objections; but his persuasions prevailed, and the assembly appointed a minister, elders, and deacons. The same organization was adopted at Poitiers, Angers, Bourges, and other places. Thus each church or ecclesiastical communion was constituted.

But a great step was yet to be taken. The churches were isolated, and independent of each other. It was necessary to confederate, to unite them in one general church, both to maintain a unity of faith and discipline, and to oppose a stronger barrier to the attacks of the enemy.

This was the subject of the conferences which the pastor Anthony de Chandieu held with his colleagues, when he had returned to Poitiers from Paris towards the close of the year 1558. All agreed to convoke, as soon as possible, with the concurrence of the consistory, a General Synod at Paris: "not to attribute any pre-eminence or dignity to that church," as Theodore de Bèze expressly observes, "but because Paris was then the most convenient city to receive secretly a multitude of ministers and elders."

In the face of gibbets raised in the public places, and the laws of blood which pressed heavily upon the Reformers, the difficulties of executing their plan were immense. There were but

¹ T. I. pp. 108, 109.

eleven churches which sent delegates to this Synod: Paris, Saint Lô, Dieppe, Angers, Orleans, Tours, Poitiers, Saintes, Marennes, Chatellerault, Saint-Jean-d'Angely. These delegates assembled under the presidency of the pastor, Francis Morel, lord of Collonges, the 25th of May, 1559.

In the deliberations of that assembly there was a simplicity and moral grandeur which command our respect. Nothing declamatory, nothing violent; there was a calm dignity, a quiet and serene fortitude, as if the members of the Synod were discussing, in a time of profound peace, and under the protection of law. And yet, says the historian De Thou, they braved an almost certain death! The Constituent Assembly, engaged in debate on a judicial code, after the flight of Louis XVI., has been much applauded;—here the spectacle is grander, because it demanded more energy and self-denial.

Then it was that the foundations of the French Reformation were laid. Succeeding synods had simply to change some of the terms of the Confession of Faith, and to regulate matters of discipline. All that was essential was established at the first stroke. The dogmatic and ecclesiastical code were the expression of what has been termed Calvinism. Our task here is only that of a narrator.

The Confession of Faith was composed of forty articles, embracing all the doctrines regarded as fundamental in the sixteenth century: God and his Word; the Trinity; the fall of man and his state of condemnation; the decree of the Lord concerning the elect; gratuitous redemption through Jesus Christ, the true God and a real man; the participation of this grace by the faith which the Holy Spirit gives; the characteristics of the true Church; the number and signification of the sacraments. The Bible was regarded as the sole and absolute rule of all truth.

The Discipline also contained forty articles. It was much

extended afterwards in the synodical assemblies; for in later times it was divided into fourteen chapters or sections, embracing two hundred and twenty articles; but all the important ideas were contained in the primitive structure.

We give a brief sketch of the ecclesiastical constitution.

Wherever there was a sufficient number of the faithful, they should constitute themselves a church; that is to say, appoint a consistory, call a minister, establish the regular celebration of the sacraments, and the practice of discipline. Every thing would proceed from this first step.

The consistory was chosen for the first time by the common voice of the people; it was completed afterwards by the votes of its own members; but the new choices were always to be submitted to the approbation of the flock, and if there was any opposition, the dispute was to be referred either to the conference or General Synod. No condition of fortune, nor any thing of the kind, was requisite for the consistory.

The election of pastors was likewise notified to the people, after having been made by the provincial synod or the conference. The newly elected pastor preached three consecutive Sundays. The people maintained silence by express agreement. If there were objections, they were brought before the body charged with the choice of pastors. Never could one act contrary to the wish of the majority.

A certain number of churches formed the circle of a conference. The conferences assembled at least twice a year. Each church was there represented by a pastor and an elder. The business of these assemblies was to settle difficulties which might happen, and generally to provide what contributed to the good of the churches.

Over the conferences were the provincial synods. Likewise composed of a pastor and an elder from each church. They

assembled at least once a year. They decided what could not be decided in the conferences, and all the graver matters of their provinces. The number of these synods has varied. There have ordinarily been sixteen in France since the Assembly of Béarn.

Finally, at the summit of the church government stands the National Synod. It was, if possible, to be convoked yearly, which, however, has seldom been done, because of the calamities of the times.

Composed of two pastors and two elders from each special synod, the National Synod was the last appeal for all great ecclesiastical affairs; its decisions were binding on all. The deliberations commenced by reading the Confession of Faith and the Discipline. The members of the assembly were obliged to adhere to the one, while they could propose modifications of the other. The presidency belonged of right to a pastor. The duration of the sessions was undetermined. Before the adjournment, they designated the province where they would hold the next synod.

This constitution was dictated by Calvin. It attests the power and comprehensiveness of his genius for organization. The elective principle, which guaranteed liberty, prevailed throughout; everywhere was the power which maintained authority; that is to say, order by the combination of these two elements. Still more, the equilibrium between the pastors and the laity; the periodical and frequent renewal of the provincial and national synods; the churches strongly united without the least trace of primacy;—this was the Presbyterian *régime* in its essential features. Some, no doubt, would ask at this day that the part of the people should not be limited to the simple right of veto, and that the number of the laity should exceed that of the pastors in the different degrees of jurisdiction. But if they recur to the ideas which prevailed in the sixteenth century, they will see that

this ecclesiastical constitution far surpassed the civil institutions of the time. The principle of the equality of believers, pastors, or laymen, great or small, was its basis, and from it followed naturally the equality of citizens, for the Church and the State always tend to become, in their respective attributes, the counterpart of each other.

It should be added, that all these elective bodies, from the consistories to the National Synod, formed a sort of jury, whose mission it was to be cognizant of private faults, and to inflict spiritual penalties. These punishments were private admonition, remonstrance before the consistory, suspension from the Lord's Supper, in fine, for great offences, excommunication and banishment from the Church. The loftiest heads must bend, like the humblest, under this religious penalty, and in certain cases make public confession of their faults. Henry IV., king of Navarre, submitted to it in more than one instance.

We should be astonished in our day at such intervention in private affairs; but then, very few thought of complaining. The ecclesiastical power penetrated without hindrance and without effort to the life of the fireside. They believed that the religious law made inquiry into faults which the civil law could not reach, and the Protestants had so much more recourse to this kind of penalty, that they should not be accused of abandoning the Roman Church in order to gratify more freely their passions.


The 29th of May, 1559, when the delegates to the first General Synod, before their separation, united their souls in prayer, they could bless God for the work which he had permitted them to accomplish. The French Reformation was organized.

X.

The Parliament of Paris began to show some hesitation before the growing mass of the Calvinists. It was divided into three parties : the violent Catholics, who were led by the first president, Giles Lemaître, who clung to the old system of persecution ; moderate men, already named politicians, among whom figured Christophe de Harlay, Seguier, and De Thou, the father of the historian, who attempted to reconcile the two religions by mutual concessions ; and finally, secret reformers, whose leaders were Anne Dubourg and Louis Dufaur, who, from day to day, declared their views more openly. These divisions caused between the Chambers of Parliament a conflict in jurisprudence, the Grand Chamber continuing to punish the heretics, and the Tournelle seeking means for their acquittal.

These beginnings of indulgence alarmed the clergy. "If the secular arm fails in its duty," said Cardinal de Lorraine to the king, "all the malcontents will throw themselves into this detestable sect ; they will break the ecclesiastical power ; and after that will come the turn of the royal authority."

Henry II. listened to him much more willingly, as he had just concluded with the King of Spain the dishonorable treaty of the Gateau-Cambrésis, in which both monarchs engaged, by a secret article, to exterminate heresy ; and as a pledge to the treaty, his daughter Elizabeth was affianced to Philip II. It was then concluded that the king should go in person to parliament, to cut short the dissensions by a decisive sentence. It was, moreover, the cardinal further observed, the most agreeable spectacle to offer to the Spanish seigneurs, who had just come to Paris for the royal bride, that half a dozen of the Lutheran heretics



should be burnt in a public place. "It was necessary," to use his expression, "to serve up an entertainment to those grandees of Spain."

Henry II., consequently, took his seat upon the throne, the 10th of August, 1559, and invited the counsellors freely to give him their advice upon the means of healing the religious disputes. The first president, Giles Lemaître, extolled the zeal of Philip Augustus, who, in a single day, had burnt six hundred Albigenes. The moderate party confined themselves to vague generalities. The secret Calvinists, especially Anne Dubourg, demanded religious reform by means of a general council. "We behold every day," said he, "crimes committed which go unpunished, while new punishments are invented against those who have committed no crime. It is not a thing of little importance to condemn those who, in the midst of the flames, invoke the name of Jesus Christ."

The irritated prince ordered his captain of the guards to stop him in open parliament, and said in a loud voice, that he would see him burnt before his eyes. But he himself, wounded by a stroke of a lance in a tournament, died a month after; and we are assured that in his last moments he remembered with sorrow Anne Dubourg and the other counsellors shut up in the Bastille. "They are innocent," cried he, "and God has punished me for having persecuted them." Cardinal de Lorraine hastened to quiet his conscience, by saying that it was a suggestion of the devil.

Anne Dubourg was born in 1521, at Riom, in Auvergne, of a notable family. His uncle had been chancellor of France. After having studied theology, received orders, and graduated in law at Orleans, he occupied a seat in the Parliament of Paris. A learned man, of integrity, and devoted to all his duties, no one can accuse him of any thing but being a Protestant.

The death of the king did not suspend his trial. The Bishop of Paris degraded him from his priestly office, and, contrary to usage, the case was tried, not before the assembled chambers, but by commissaries. Some magistrates endeavored to prevail upon him to make a confession of faith in ambiguous terms, in order that, without wounding his own conscience, he might satisfy that of his judges. But Dubourg refused; he even censured his advocate, Marillac, who had defended him by phrases of a double meaning, and he was condemned to be burnt alive.

He listened to the reading of his sentence without change of countenance, and prayed God to pardon his judges. "Whatever else I am," said he, "I am a Christian; yes, I am a Christian; and I will proclaim it still louder, in dying for the glory of my Lord Jesus Christ."

As the Protestants had undertaken to furnish him with the means of escape, he was inclosed in an iron cage, an old implement of Louis XI., which had been dug up in the Bastile. Dubourg was resigned; he sang praises to God in this narrow prison.

It was the custom to reserve for the great fêtes the execution of the most celebrated criminals, and that of Anne Dubourg was appointed for the 23d of December, 1559, the day before Christmas eve. Six hundred men were placed under arms. They had also erected gibbets, and heaped up wood in several cross-ways, in order that the place of the execution might not be known until the latest hour. Dubourg wished to divest himself of his garments: "My friends," said he to the people, "I am not here as a thief or a murderer, but it is for the Gospel." Some one presented him a crucifix, which he thrust from him, and when he was suspended to the gallows, he cried: "My God, do not abandon me, that I may not abandon thee."

Thus he died, at the age of thirty-eight years, a pious and

Illustrious magistrate. "His execution," says Mézeray, "inspired many with the persuasion that the faith which so good and so great a man professed could not be bad." And Florimond de Rémond, then a student, avows that all in the colleges were melted to tears, that they plead his cause after his death, and that this funeral pile did more evil than a hundred ministers could have done by their preaching.

The following year, the Chancellor Olivier uttered in despair, the name of Anne Dubourg, upon his bed of death; and Cardinal Lorraine approaching him, he said: "Ah! Cardinal, you have damned us all."

During these persecutions the affairs of the state had become more and more critical. The new king, Francis II., was scarcely sixteen years of age. His bodily debility and weakness of mind, in the energetic expression of an old historian, opened him to the first occupant. Catherine de' Medici, the Guises, the Châtillons, the Bourbons, the Constable Anne de Montmorency, all made use of that impotent fiction of the royalty of a child, and mingled in religious discussions the quarrels of their political ambition. We shall only speak of what directly belongs to the subject of this history.

Having come to France twenty-six years before, Catherine de' Medici had brought from the country of Machiavelli the art of dissimulation, and had exercised it during the long humiliations she had suffered during the reign of the favorites of Henry II. An artful and vindictive woman, a coquette without even the excuse of passion, aspiring to power by her inclination to intrigue as much as by the pride of commanding; yet having great ability, and one who with noble objects might have accomplished great designs; but having neither faith nor moral

sense, and ceaselessly undermining the authority of others to strengthen her own, she embraced by turns and abandoned all parties. No female and mother of our kings, Isabel de Bavière excepted, has done so much injury to France as this Italian woman.¹

The Guises, still more than Catherine de' Medici and the Valois, for forty years, were the real chiefs of the Catholic party in our country, and had it not been for them, as Mézeray remarks, the new religion would perhaps have become dominant. This family, a cadet branch of that of the Dukes of Lorraine, had been established in France since the close of the reign of Louis XII. Claude de Lorraine came there to seek his fortune in 1513, with a *valet and a staff*. He had by Antoinette de Bourbon six sons and four daughters, who all succeeded in elevating themselves to the highest stations.

Francis I. mistrusted them himself towards the close of his life, and advised his son to hold the Lorraines at a distance. But Henry II. had too little dignity of soul and force of character to follow this sage counsel. He permitted foreigners, who had distinct interests from those of his race and kingdom, to take into their hands the public business; and after the accession of Francis II., who married their niece, Mary Stuart, two years older than himself, the Guises became all-powerful.

The Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, archbishop of Rheims, and possessing in ecclesiastical benefices a revenue of three hundred

¹ It should be remembered here, and in other parts of this volume, that we speak of the Italians of the sixteenth century, nobles and priests, who were constant witnesses, at Rome, at Florence, at Naples, of scenes of murder, poisoning, and baseness, and had fallen to the lowest degree of depravity. These are the persons, history declares, who invented, counselled, prepared, accomplished in France the most monstrous crimes of the time. But we are very far from charging this terrible responsibility upon the Italian nation of this day; an intelligent and generous nation, which is just rising from its misfortunes, and whose adversity should render it doubly deserving of regard.

thousand crowns, (several millions of our present money,) was a man of science, affable manners, great facility of speech, exceedingly shrewd in the management of men and affairs, of a profound policy and insatiable ambition. He aspired to nothing less than the crown of France for his brother and a tiara for himself. Thus Pius V., somewhat jealous of the part he was playing in the Church, called him the pope beyond the mountains. Moreover, a priest without settled convictions, and preaching half the confession of Augsburg, *in order to please the German gentlemen*, as Brantôme says; decried for his immoralities, which he took no care to conceal, and making himself the hue and cry of the people as he went out of the house of a courtesan; in fine, pusillanimous before danger as much as he was arrogant in prosperity.

His brother, the Duke Francis de Guise, less brilliant, less eloquent, had nobler qualities. A great general, intrepid, and liberal, he had nobly served France in the defence of Metz, the siege of Calais and Thionville, and the victory of Renty. His character was naturally lofty and generous, but irascible and even cruel, when one did not bow before him; and as he did not listen to the controversies of religion or the intrigues of politics, he placed at the service of the cardinal's manoeuvres his valiant sword.

The two brothers were in that favorable position of power to aid each other without hurting themselves. The one could not aim at the crown of France, nor the other at the tiara. The priest gave to his house the support of the clergy, and the soldier that of arms. Abroad they were supported by Philip II. and by the Holy See; and these contracted alliances with foreigners, not as subjects, but like sovereigns.

Under Francis II., Cardinal de Lorraine was appointed superintendent of finance. The Duke of Guise obtained, notwith-

standing the protestations of the Constable, the appointment of commander-in-chief of the army; and being now grand chamberlain, grand huntsman, grand master, generalissimo, uncle of a king of sixteen years, and brother of the cardinal, he had an authority little less than that of the ancient mayors of the palace.

On the other side were the Bourbons, princes of the blood, but a degree more distant, of moderate fortune, and suspected by the crown since the treason of the old Constable, who had taken arms against his king.

Antoine de Bourbon, the head of his race, had married Jeanne d'Albret, who brought him the title of King of Navarre, without giving him the kingdom. A prince irresolute, indolent, timid in character, courageous at times, he floated between the two doctrines: sometimes favoring the preaching of the Reformed faith in the Béarn, the Saintonge, the Poitou, and chanting psalms in Pré-aux-Clercs, in 1558, notwithstanding the cries of the Sorbonne; sometimes changing towards the Catholic religion, and persecuting the faithful. The first and the last word of his whole life was the desire of recovering the kingdom of Navarre, or some equivalent dominions. He died without accomplishing his object, and this long dream only served to make all abandon and deride him.

His brother, the Prince Louis de Condé, had a more penetrating genius and a more masculine character. Spiritual, mirthful, sometimes frivolous, but intrepid above all, and adored by the soldiers, he valiantly defended the cause of the Protestants, without ever inspiring in them full confidence. Instructed in the new ideas by his wife and his mother-in-law, he showed himself more ambitious than religious, and the looseness of his morals has always begotten doubts of the sincerity of his faith.

It might be asked if the Bourbons, including Henry IV., have not done to the French Reformation more injury than profit.

They have thrown it into politics, dashed it on the battle-field, dragged it into their private quarrels, and when it has given them the crown, they have renounced it.

Another family, inferior in rank, but more eminent for their virtues, the Châtillons, served the cause more faithfully. It was composed of three brothers: Odet de Châtillon, Francis d'Audelot, and Gaspard de Coligny. Their mother, Louise de Montmorency, sister of the Constable, already inclined towards the Reformed party. She was considered, in these times of licentiousness, a rare example of chastity. When dying, she forbid the approach of any priest, saying that God had granted her the favor of fearing and loving him.

Francis d'Audelot, the youngest of the three brothers, was the first frankly to declare himself in favor of the new religion. Made a prisoner in the wars of Italy, and detained in the Castle of Milan, he had received some pious works from the hands of Renée of France. Sent afterwards to Scotland, he had been able to study more closely the doctrines and practices of the Reformation. He was a brave knight, loyal, without reproach, the worthy successor of Bayard.

While passing into Brittany, where the estates of his family lay, he was accompanied by a pastor who preached from town to town, with open doors, an unheard-of thing in 1558. Henry II. violently reproached him. "Sire," replied d'Audelot, "you should not think it strange, if after having done my duty in your service, I employ the rest of my time for the salvation of my soul. I therefore pray you to leave my conscience free, and to use for yourself my body and my property, which are entirely yours." "But I had not given you this order," said the king, showing him the collar which he wore upon his neck, "in order to abuse it thus. You have promised and sworn to go to mass, and follow your religion." "I did not know," replied the

upright cavalier, "what it was to be a Christian; and I would not have accepted it on this condition, if God had enlightened my heart, as he has since done."

Unable to restrain himself longer, the king, while at supper, hurled across the table his plate, which struck the dauphin, and he came very near piercing d'Audelot with his sword. He cast him into prison, and took from him his office of major-general of the infantry, which was given to Blaise de Montluc.

This affair made much noise. Calvin wrote to the prisoner, to congratulate him on his courage, and Pope Paul IV. was indignant that they had not brought the culprit at once to execution. Vainly did the ambassador of France represent to him that they could not treat in this manner a Châtillon, the nephew of the Constable, the brother of the Admiral; the untractable pontiff persisted, saying, "A heretic never repents: this is a malady for which there is no remedy but fire."

His relatives and friends interceded: d'Audelot consented to let a mass be said in the chamber of his prison, but without taking any part in it, and he was restored to liberty.

Gaspard de Coligny, the greatest layman of the French Reformation, must detain us longer. We shall especially consider the religious aspects of his character, and the details of his private life neglected by other historians.

Born at Châtillon-sur-Loing, in 1516, Coligny was instructed by Nicholas Bérault, a very renowned professor in this period, and he displayed so great a love for knowledge, that they were obliged to interrupt him, for fear he would be diverted from a career of arms. At twenty-five he was major-general of the French infantry, and by his regulations he introduced a severe discipline in those mercenary bands which, before him, more resembled robbers than soldiers. "These ordinances," says Brantôme, "were the most beautiful and the most politic which

were ever made in France ; and I believe that since they were made, the lives of a million of persons have been saved, and the same might be said of their fortune and property ; for formerly there was nothing but pillage, thefts, robbery, extortions, murders, quarrels, and lusts, among these bands. Behold, then, the obligation which the world owes to this great personage."

We know not when Coligny took the first step towards the new doctrine. From the year 1555, we see him aiding the enterprise of the Chevalier de Villegagnon, who proposed to him to found a colony of the French Reformers in Brazil. The admiral finding there the double advantage of opening a place of refuge for the persecuted, and of enriching his own country from a colonial establishment, intrusted to Villegagnon two ships with a sum of ten thousand livres ; but the expedition was a failure.

Having become a prisoner of the Spaniards, after the unfortunate battle of Saint-Quentin, he asked for the Bible and other religious books. He devoted himself entirely to their study ; and it is then that he appeared to have received the principles of the Reformation with firm and deep convictions.

When he had paid his ransom, he retired to his manor of Châtillon-sur-Loing ; and wishing to apply himself to religious matters, he transferred to his brother d'Andelot, with the permission of the king, the office of major-general of infantry. He resigned the government of Paris and the Isle of France in favor of his cousin, the Marshal de Montmorency, son of the Constable, and entreated Henry II., with the utmost earnestness, to designate to him a successor for his government of Picardy. "This was what, from this time," says the author of the *Mémoires de Coligny*, "induced many to suspect that he had

changed his religion, it being very true that his mind seemed totally removed from an anxiety for honor and power.”¹

Behold the man whom several historians have accused of having taken up arms, and fomented revolts, from a spirit of ambition. History thus written is one of the greatest disgraces of humanity.

Coligny was encouraged in his pious resolutions by Charlotte de Laval, his wife, who did not cease to encourage him openly to declare his sentiments. “Then the Admiral, finding himself so often, and with so much affection, pressed by her, resolved to tell her, once for all, how he felt, declaring to her at length that for many years he had neither seen nor heard of any one, in France or in Germany, who had made an open profession of religion, that was not overwhelmed with evils and calamities; that by the edicts of Francis I. and Henry II., rigorously observed by the parliaments, those who were convicted must be burnt alive by a slow fire in a public place, and their property confiscated to the king; that notwithstanding, if she was disposed, with so much confidence, to accept the common condition of the Protestants, he, for his part, would not be wanting in his duty.”²

Charlotte de Laval having answered that this was the lot of true Christians in all ages, Coligny hesitated no longer. He confessed his belief before those who came to visit him, exhorted his servants to follow his example, gave them the Scriptures to read, selected pious men to educate his children, and entirely reformed his household. He began also to frequent the assemblies, but he did not yet participate in the Lord’s Supper, hav-

¹ *Mémoires de Coligny*, p. 18. We presume that they were compiled by Cornaton, one of the most faithful servants of the Admiral. We use the edition printed at Grenoble in 1669. What follows is, in part, an abridged extract.

² *Ibid.* page 20.

ing doubts on that point. He had discussed it with learned ministers, asking explanations about the real presence, and other similar subjects, without having been able to see this doctrine clearly.

One day, while in a meeting at Vatteville, as they were about to celebrate the Lord's Supper, he arose ; and after having besought the company not to take offence at his weakness, he invited the minister to discourse somewhat more at length upon the sacrament. The latter pronounced an ample discourse on the subject. "The Admiral, instructed by his words, first gave thanks to God, and from this time resolved to participate in this sacred and holy mystery on the first day it should be celebrated. This having been promulgated through all France, it is impossible to describe the joy and consolation of all the churches."

He preserved through his whole life his habits of piety, and practised them, undisguisedly, as the liberty of believers increased. "As soon as he had risen from his bed early in the morning, put on his morning-gown, and placed himself on his knees, with all his household, he prayed in the form commonly employed in the churches of France : after which, waiting for the hour of sermon, which came twice a day, once with the chanting of psalms, he gave audience to the deputies of the churches which were sent to him, or attended to the public business, which he yet continued to discuss a little after the sermon to the hour for dinner. Standing near the table, ready set, and his wife by his side, if there had not been a discourse, they chanted a psalm, and then asked the ordinary blessing, which an infinite number, not only of French, but German captains and colonels, can bear witness, that he was accustomed to observe, without intermission, from day to day, not only in his

family and in his quiet, but also in the army. The cloth removed, rising up with his attendants, he either rendered thanks himself or by his minister.

“He practised the same at supper; and seeing that all his household were inconvenienced by the evening prayer, he directed each one to be present at the close of the supper, and that, after the chant of some psalms, there should be prayer. It is impossible to tell the number of those among the French noblesse who established in their families this religious rule of the Admiral, who exhorted them often to the genuine practice of piety, saying that it was not enough that the father of the family lived holily and religiously, if, by his example, he did not lead his household to do likewise.

“When the time of the Lord’s Supper drew near, he called all his household, representing to them that it was not only necessary for him to render an account to God of his own life, but also of their deportment, and he entirely reconciled them, if there was any dissension among them.

“He was of medium size, his limbs well proportioned, his countenance calm and serene, his voice agreeable and sweet, but a little slow and interrupted, his complexion fair, his carriage and step indicative of benevolence and a gracious dignity. He drank little wine, ate little, and slept at most but seven hours.”

The character which Gaspard de Coligny displayed in public affairs is well known. Gifted with qualities the most varied and the most exalted, a man of genius in war and in politics, severe towards himself, indulgent towards others, never supercilious from good fortune, nor dejected by adversity, a friend of his country, devoted to his king in all that did not violate his conscience. the most illustrious statesmen, as well as the ablest

¹ *Memoires de Coligny*, p. 94-97.

captains, have esteemed it an honor to be compared with him. Perhaps his very good qualities had their faults. He appeared sometimes to want resolution, because he was too loyal to push his advantages to the utmost against royalty, and failed in foresight, because the perfidy which was wanting in his own heart, he hardly suspected in others.

If we seek in later times among us, and in a different order of things, a personage who can bear a comparison with him, doubtless we shall pronounce the name of General Lafayette.

The man of the sixteenth century and he of the end of the eighteenth had full faith in the justice of their cause. Both made for it the most generous sacrifices, and displayed to the last an unshaken constancy. Both held in their hands, in several crises, the greatest interests of the State. Both have been considered the most honest men of their times. But Lafayette had the popular masses with him; Coligny had them against him in three-quarters of France. So, with a more exalted political and martial genius, he had less success.

The third brother, Odet de Châtillon, was the oldest of the family. Appointed cardinal by Clement VII., at the age of seventeen years, he was in favor of reforms without adopting completely the Reformation. He married a lady of noble family, Isabella de Hauteville who was called Madame Cardinal, or Madame the Cardinal de Beauvais, when she took her seat in the apartments of the Court in the quality of wife of a peer of France;—curious singularity even in that time. Odet de Châtillon died in England many years after, prisoner by one of his enemies. Beauvais and the three sons the best testimony to his judgment and his integrity.

XI.

Catherine de' Medici had uttered, in her days of humiliation, some sentiments favorable to the Reformation, and the Protestants supposed at first that she would protect them with her son Francis I. Coligny and other Calvinistic nobles wrote to her that they hoped to find in her a second Esther. But her good dispositions were but a vain show. "I know nothing of this doctrine," said she; "what had moved me to wish them well was more the pity and compassion natural to a woman than a desire to be informed whether this doctrine be true or false."

By agreement with the queen-mother and the Court of Madrid, the Guises held the Bourbons at a distance, and published new edicts for the extermination of the heretics. They instituted in each Parliament *Chambres Ardentes*, so named because they pitilessly condemned to the flames all those who were accused of the crime of heresy. This was a vast system of terror, from which even the shadow of justice disappeared. Accusations, confiscations, pillages, sentences of death, atrocious executions;—such scenes terrified, in the beginning of 1560, the principal cities of France—Toulouse, Dijon, Bordeaux, Lyons, Grenoble, Poitiers, and the provinces to which they belonged.

At Paris the commissaries of quarters made daily visits to suspected houses. A certain Démocharès or Mouchy, who has given to the language the term of *mouchard*, infested the country with a troop of wretches, who attempted to fall upon the heretics while eating meat on forbidden days, or gathering in assemblies. They spied particularly the Faubourg Saint-Germain, which was then called little Geneva.

Many persons were seized and maltreated. Those who could

fly, quitted the place, leaving their furniture, money, provisions, all their property, to the mercy of *banditti*, vested with the office of police. They pillaged and sacked the houses, according to Theodore de Bèze, like a village taken by assault; carts full of furniture encumbered the streets; a *gang of wretches* gleaned and destroyed what the first plunderers had left. "But what was the most deplorable," adds this historian, "was the sight of poor children, to be found crying from hunger, with pitiable groans, and who went begging through the streets, without any one daring to protect them, lest they should fall into the same danger; so they considered them less than the dogs."¹

Abominable means had been resorted to for inflaming the fury of the populace of Paris. We still see, in collections of old engravings, representations of heretics killing the priests by blows of the arquebuse, throwing the monks into the river, cutting the throats of children, strangling women and old men, and there were men stationed upon the public places to comment upon these outrages.

The people responded to these base provocations by placing images of the Virgin at the corners of the streets. The countenances of the passers-by were watched, and unfortunate indeed was he who did not raise his hat! miserable was he who refused to put some piece of money in the box, or *espargue-monnaie*, which were presented to provide wax-capers! They cried out at the heretic; they dragged him to the Châtelet, and the prisons were so overcrowded, it was necessary to hasten the executions to make room for new victims.

Richard here an example which shows the state of the times! Two miserable apprentices, who had been bribed, declared that the most shameful proceedings took place in the secret Calvi-

istic assemblies. Cardinal Lorraine immediately went to the queen-mother to relate the matter, aggravating his account of it with all the calumnies which had formerly been charged upon the Gnostics, the Messaleans, the Borbontes, the Manicheans, the Catharians, that the Protestants might appear to have collected, as in a sewer, the abominations of all ages.

Among the persons denoted were the wife and two daughters of a celebrated advocate of Paris. They surrendered themselves to justice, preferring to lose their life rather than their honor. They were confronted by the two apprentices. These last colored, stammered, contradicted themselves in their depositions, and it became evident that they had uttered an execrable lie. Some magistrates, indignant, desired that they should be imprisoned instead of the outraged females. The contrary happened: the calumniators were absolved, and the females remained in the dungeons.

But the Guises procured other malcontents who reproached the Calvinists, and hence originated the well-known enterprise called the Conspiracy of Amboise.

Many noblemen had come to court, to demand the reward of their blood, poured out in the king's service, or that of the dominions of which they had been despoiled in these times of confusion and disorder. The Cardinal of Lorraine, fearing the presence of so many military men, published a proclamation which ordered all solicitors, of whatever condition they might be, to leave the place in twenty-four hours, under pain of death. A gibbet was even erected at the doors of the palace to confirm the menace. The noblemen departed, their souls deeply ulcerated at an insult which no king of France had ever offered to his brave nobility.

The war began by pamphlets, in which the Lorraines were accused of having usurped the rights of the princes of the blood,

of holding the crown in tutelage, although they were foreigners, and of trampling on all the ancient laws of the kingdom. "France can endure it no longer," said they, in these pamphlets, "and demands a convocation of the States-General to set affairs in order."

The malcontents soon passed from arguments to acts. Those of the Religion felt scrupulous here. Could they have recourse to force, to obtain redress for their grievances? They consulted the theologians of Switzerland and Germany, who replied, that it was lawful to resist the government usurped by the Lorraines, provided one of the legitimate chiefs, viz. the princes of the blood, was at the head, and that they were supported by the States-General.

Notwithstanding this, the majority of the Protestants refused to engage in this enterprise, in which, says Brantôme, *there entered not less of discontent than of Huguenotism.*¹ Coligny was not led into it, and those who took part in it had expressly excepted the person and authority of the king. They only proposed to drive out the Lorraines, and restore to the French princes the government of France. Louis de Condé was the invisible or *silent* leader of the conspiracy. La Renardie, who represented the political malcontents more than the religious, was their visible head.

Instructed in the plot by the treachery of the advocate Des Arrouelles, the Guises in haste quitted the city of Blois, and went to guard themselves with Francis II. in the castle of Amboise. The poor young king said to them, in tears: "What have I done to my people that they bear me such ill-will? I wish to understand their grievances, and to do right. I do not know, but I hear that they only wish for you. I would prefer that for a time

¹ "Plus de moins de mécontentement que de la huguenoterie."

you should be away from me, that I might see whether it is you or me they wish." The Lorraines took care not to yield to this desire; for once out of the court, they would have seen the whole noblesse of France rising to prevent their return.

In the first moments of terror, the Cardinal of Lorraine introduced into the parliament an ordinance of amnesty, in which the propagators, and those who had conspired under the pretext of religion, were alone excepted. But when he was sure of triumph his vengeance was equal to his terror, and it was horrible. Twelve hundred conspirators perished at Amboise. The public grounds were covered with gibbets; blood flowed through the streets. There was no examination, no trial; and as the butchers were too few for the work, they threw the prisoners by hundreds, bound hand and foot, into the waves of the Loire. This same river was destined to swallow other victims; centuries after, the Cardinal Charles of Lorraine and Carrier de Nantes were found to agree.

More was done in 1560. The Guises reserved the principal victims till after dinner, as Count Regnier de la Planche relates, in order to give some pastime to the ladies, who seemed to be *ennuées*, by their long confinement in the castle. The queen-mother, her daughters, the ladies of honor, the courtiers, placed themselves at the windows, *as if it were an occasion of some mummery*. "And the sufferers were shown by the Cardinal, with the signs of a man greatly rejoiced, that he might the more exasperate the prince against his subjects."¹

Many of the condemned exhibited an heroic courage. A gentleman named Villemongis, having dyed his hands in the blood of his companions, lifted them towards heaven, and cried:

¹ La Planche, *Histoire de France sous François II.*, p. 214.

"Lord, behold the blood of thy children unjustly spilt; thou wilt take vengeance for it."

The Baron de Castelnau, who, having been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, in the wars of Flanders, had employed, like Admiral Coligny, the long days of his captivity in reading the Bible, was interrogated in the prison of Amboise by the Guises and Chancellor Olivier. The latter asked him, in mockery, what had been able to make a warrior so wise a theologian. "When I came to see you on my return from Flanders," said Castelnau, "I apprized you how I had passed my time. You approved me then, and we were on good terms. Why are we so no longer? It is only when I am disgraced you would speak sincerely. To-day, to please a man who despises you, you are a traitor to your God and your conscience." The Cardinal desired to come to the aid of the Chancellor, saying that it was he who had fortified him in the faith, and he began to develop a subject of controversy. Castelnau appealed to the Duke Francis de Guise, who replied that he knew nothing about it. "God grant it were otherwise!" exclaimed Castelnau; "for I esteem you enough to believe that if you were as enlightened as your brother, the Cardinal, you would employ yourself with better things."

Having been condemned to death for the crime of high treason:—"It is necessary, then," said he, sarcastically, "to declare the Guises kings of France." And offering his head to the sword of the butcher, he appealed from the injustice of men to the justice of God.

These barbarous executions inflamed the hate of the opposing parties, and opened the door to the civil wars. The conspiracy of Amboise became popular among the Protestants. Brantôme mentions that many said: "Yesterday, we were not in favor of the conspiracy, and we would not have been for all the gold in

the world; to-day, we would for a crown, and we declare that the enterprise was good and holy."

The Lorraines, however, attempted to turn to the advantage of their ambitious schemes the affair of Amboise. On the 17th of March, the Duke of Guise received the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Francis II. pledged his approval of all that should be ordained and executed by his uncle. This was to abdicate the crown; or, rather, to substitute reality in the place of fiction.

Cardinal Lorraine even dared to renew his favorite project of establishing the Inquisition in France as it was in Spain. He had already obtained the adherence of the privy council, and gained the assent of the queen-mother. But the blow was averted by the chancellor, Michael de L'Hospital, who secured the adoption, in the month of May, 1560, of the edict of Romorantin, which granted to the bishops the cognizance of the crime of heresy. This edict was attended with the most cruel penalties; but, at least, the foot of the Inquisitor did not pollute the soil of France.

XII.

The same year, 1560, so full of violence and blood, witnessed a new step in the French Reformation,—the establishment of public worship. It could be delayed no longer. When cities and almost entire provinces had embraced the faith of the Reformers, secret assemblies became impossible. A whole people cannot shut themselves up in forests and caverns to invoke their God. From whom would they conceal themselves? From themselves? The idea is absurd.

Not only necessity obliged the Protestants to take this last

step; but they were still followed by the calumnies which pursued their secret assemblies. What better means had they of convicting their enemies of falsehood than that of gathering in broad day, and saying, Come and see?

Thus the primitive Christians had gone forth from the Catacombs, notwithstanding the edicts of emperors, when they had become numerous. The same causes always produce the same effects.

Calvin and other grave men, without absolutely disapproving these manifestations, disclosed to them the consequences, and counselled them to act with wise precaution. But the popular impulse was too strong. Nîmes, Montpellier, Aigues-Mortes, gave the example; and public worship was established gradually in Languedoc, Dauphiny, Provence, Béarn, Guyenne, Saintonge, Poitou, and Normandy.

Notice having been given to the Guises, by the Count of Villars, the Marshal de Termes, and other governors of the provinces, they replied that they must hang the preachers without the form of a trial, declare it criminal for the Huguenots to be present at the sermons, and *cleanse the country of this vast rabble who lived as at Geneva*. But these orders were not strictly executed, nor could they be. The Lorraines did not understand the times. What was possible against a few thousand obscure partisans without strength, was not longer before millions of proselytes, among whose number were found more than half the noble families of the realm.

In some places of Dauphiny, at Valence, Montélimart, Romans, the Protestants took for their use the Catholic churches; a new imitation of the ancient Christians, who had entered the temples of paganism. This was as yet unavoidable in places where the population *en masse* had changed their doctrinal belief. The stones of the sanctuary belonged to a religion while

it was so believed ; if the people thought otherwise, these stones returned, and were consecrated to their new worship.

The Duke of Guise felt much more the vexation of the affairs of Dauphiny, since he was governor of the province. The enterprises of the heretics were, in his sight, a personal affront ; and he sent about the country a certain Maugiron, who surprised the cities of Valence and Romans, exposed them to pillage, hung the principal inhabitants, and decapitated two ministers, with this inscription on their necks, *Behold the chief rebels*. These outrages provoked retaliation. Two Protestant noblemen, Montbrun and Mouvens, went through Dauphiny and Provence, at the head of armed bands, pillaged the churches, maltreated the priests who had excited the murder of the Protestants, and celebrated their worship sword in hand.

Such a state of things could not long continue. It was neither peace nor war, nor liberty of religions, nor absolute domination of one alone. A remedy was demanded, under pain of delivering the kingdom to complete anarchy ; and the council of the king resolved to call an Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau. The Guises gave their consent reluctantly ; but they themselves, frightened at a condition which they could not control, yielded to the influence of politics, or the third party, which began to form under the direction of the Chancellor L'Hospital.

The 21st of August, 1560, had been fixed for the opening of the assembly. The young king took his seat on his throne, in the great hall of the palace of Fontainebleau, having near him his wife Mary of Scotland, the queen-mother, and his brothers. Cardinals, bishops, members of the privy council, cavaliers of different orders, masters of requests, the Dukes of Guise and d'Aumale, the Constable, the Admiral, the Chancellor, all were there, excepting the princes of Bourbon, who, fearing a snare, had refused to come.

The Duke of Guise rendered an account of the administration of the army; the Cardinal of Lorraine of finance. But important as were these matters, the Notables gave them little attention; they felt that the only grand business of the occasion was the religious question.

Coligny had promised to give the Protestants the signal. All at once he rises, approaches the throne, bows with respect, and presents two petitions, one to the king, the other, to the queen-mother, bearing this inscription, *Petition of those who, in different provinces, call on the name of God, following the law of piety*. The attendants are astonished at such boldness, for the penalty of death was constantly suspended over the head of heretics. But the king, Francis II., to whom no one had been able to give beforehand instruction on this method of procedure, accepts graciously the petitions, and gives them to his secretary of commandments to read.

The faithful testified that their faith was that of the Apostles' Creed, that they had always acted like loyal subjects of the king, and that they had been basely calumniated when accused of a troublesome and seditious spirit. "The Gospel we profess teaches us the contrary altogether," said they; "and we account it no shame to confess that we have never so well understood our duty towards your majesty as we have learned it by means of the holy doctrine which is preached to us." In closing, they asked permission to assemble in open day; and submitted to be punished as rebels, if they were discovered in nocturnal or unlawful assemblies.

Some one remarked that these petitions bore no signature. "It is true," replied the Admiral; "but grant us permission to assemble, and in one day I will bring to you fifty thousand signatures from the single province of Normandy." "And I," interrupted the Duke of Guise, with *hauteur*, "I will find a

hundred thousand of them who will seal the contrary with their blood."

The debates were renewed the 23d of August. Two prelates, we are happy to notice the fact, Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence, and Charles de Marillac, archbishop of Vienne, offered some words of conciliation. Both had been on embassies to Italy, and had visited Protestant countries. A memorable thing, that the bishops of France, who had closely observed Rome and the Reformation, had generally inclined towards the new ideas.

Jean de Montluc was an energetic painter of the disorders which filled the Church. The Calvinistic ministers,—literary men, ever diligent, and having the name of Jesus Christ always on their lips, not fearing the loss of life to confirm their doctrine,—he compared with the Catholic priests, and at this juncture pronounced these words, which merit a place in history :

"The bishops, I understand, for the most part, have been negligent, not having any fear of rendering an account to God of the flock which they had in charge, and their chief concern has been to preserve their revenue, and to spend it in foolish and scandalous living ; so much so, that forty have been seen residing at Paris while the fire was burning in their dioceses. At the same time they gave up their bishoprics to children and ignorant persons, who had neither the ability nor the will to perform these duties. The ministers of that sect have not failed to make strong representations to those who were willing to listen to them.

"The curates are avaricious, ignorant, occupied with every thing but their duty, and for the most part have been provided with their benefices by unlawful means. And while it was necessary, in these times, that we should call to our aid men of learning, virtue, and zeal, for every two crowns the bankers sent to Rome, as many curates were returned.

"The cardinals and bishops have had no difficulty in leasing their benefices to their stewards, and what is more, to their servants, cooks, barbers, and lackeys. The inferior priests, by their avarice, ignorance, and dissolute life, have rendered themselves odious and despicable to every man. Behold the good remedies which have been offered to procure the peace of the Church!"

Montluc indicated two means of reforming religion: the one was to have preaching every day before the king, the queens, and the lords of the court, and substituting for the *silly songs* of the maids of honor, the Psalms of David; the other to convoke, without delay, a free Universal Council, and if the pope refused, a National Council.

The Archbishop Marillac made the same complaints, supported the advice of Montluc, and proposed to decide, besides, that nothing more should be done in the Church for money, since it is improper, said he, to make merchandise of spiritual things.

The following day, the 24th of August, it was the turn of Admiral Coligny to speak. He demanded, with the two bishops, the convocation of a free Council, either general or national, and added that it should be allowed, meanwhile, to the Protestants to assemble for prayer. "Give them temples or other edifices in every place," said he, "and send thither men to watch that nothing may be done contrary to the authority of the king and the public security. If you act in this manner, the kingdom will soon be all peaceable, and the subjects satisfied."

But Cardinal de Lorraine was far from receiving this request. "Is it reasonable," said he, "to lean more to the opinion of such people than to that of the king? And as for providing them temples, or places of assembly, that would be to approve their heresy, which the king could not do without being eternally damned." The Cardinal saw no great need of convoking a council, since it was only necessary to reform the morals of

the clergy, which could be done by general or private admonitions.

Nevertheless, the Guises, not being sustained in the Assembly of Fontainebleau, either by the Chancellor or the Constable, consented to the calling of the States-General in the following December, and announced that preparatory measures would be taken for the holding of a National Council.

Pope Pius IV. was very uneasy at even the idea of this Council, fearing the result—either a schism, or at least the re-establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction. He wrote to the King of France that his crown would be in danger, and to the King of Spain to supplicate his intervention. But not obtaining a satisfactory reply, he resolved to renew the sessions of the Council of Trent, which were long before suspended. The Pontiff of Rome preferred an assembly, the majority of which were Italians, whom he could control, to a National Council of France, which would deliberate without him, and perhaps against him.

We should notice that the most distinguished men of both communions, Montluc, Marillac, L'Hospital, Coligny, agreed in demanding the convocation of a National Council. But we should not mistake what was at the bottom of this project. It was not religious liberty, as we understand it at this day; it was simply the hope that, by mutual concessions, Catholicism and the Reformation would come to a union on common ground. The principle that two religions cannot exist in a single state, still ruled the best minds.

XIII.

In giving their assent to the convocation of the States-General, the Lorraines nourished more than one mental reservation.

They flattered themselves they would destroy the power of the Bourbons, envelop the Huguenots in the ruin of their leaders, and conquer the majority in the States by seduction or terror.

Antoine de Bourbon and the Prince of Condé were invited to occupy their seats as princes of the blood. They knew that great dangers awaited them, but a refusal would have been represented as an open rupture with the royal authority. The opposite characters of the two princes concurred still more to induce them to accept the invitation. The King of Navarre was too weak to brave the crown directly; Louis de Condé too bold to expose himself to the appearance of fearing it. The one went, because he dared not do otherwise; the other, because he courted danger.

Scarcely had Condé entered Orleans, when he was arrested on an accusation of high treason, and commissaries were appointed to judge him. He refused to appear, saying that a prince of the blood could only be judged by the king and the peers, with all the chambers of parliament assembled. The Lorraines showed him an ordinance, which declared him guilty of high treason, if he persisted in his refusal. "We must not tolerate," said the Duke of Guise, "that a little gallant, although he may be a prince, should make such menaces. We must strike off with one blow the head of the heresy and the rebellion."

The chief of the Bourbon family humbled himself before the Duke and the Cardinal, soliciting the pardon of his brother. They received him haughtily, and guarded the prisoner at sight. All the historians agree that they formed against him the horrible project of assassination. As they dared not bring him to trial, they had resolved to call him before Francis II., who, beginning a quarrel with him, should draw his sword. At this signal the courtiers should throw themselves upon Antoine de Bourbon, and stab him.

Informed of the plot, the greatness of the danger inspired him with some courage, and he said to the Captain Renti: "I am going to the place where they have sworn to kill me. If I die, take the shirt which I have upon me; carry it to my wife, since my son is not yet old enough to avenge my death, and that she may send it to the Christian princes who will avenge me." He then entered the chamber of the king, and Cardinal Lorraine shut the door after him. The king made some rough remarks; but either from a childish timidity, or pity, he dared not give the signal. *O, the coward! O, the poltroon!* murmured Francis de Guise, concealed behind the door. A king of seventeen years charged with the assassination of his uncle! What manners! what a reign! what a court!

The Cardinal of Lorraine had also contrived, for the extermination of the heretics, a plan analogous to those which had been executed against the Albigenses of Languedoc, or the Moors of Spain. We should be glad, for the honor of the human species, to be able to deny the existence of such execrable designs; but they are attested by Catholic authors, and even by the Jesuit Maimbourg.

The Cardinal had then decided to oblige all the French to subscribe a formula of faith, arranged by the Sorbonne, in 1542,—a formula, says John de Serres, *which no Protestant would have approved or signed for a thousand lives*. The king was to present it, on Christmas-day, to all the princes, officers, and courtiers; the Queen, to all the ladies and demoiselles of the palace; the Chancellor, to the deputies of the States-General and to the masters of petitions; the heads of parliaments and the bailiwicks, to their subordinates; the governors of provinces, to the nobles;

¹ *Vide* for this fact Regnier de la Planche, John de Serres, D'Aubigné, De Thou, and among more modern authors, Auquetil, Sismondi, M. Lacroix, and others.

the curates, to all the inhabitants of their parishes; in fine, the masters of the family to their servants. Whoever should refuse his signature, or demand only a delay, should be executed the next day, or, according to the mitigated version of Maimbourg, be deprived of all his property, and banished from the kingdom. Four marshals were to scour the provinces with their troops to enforce this law of extermination. The Cardinal, joining burlesque to atrocity, called this formula of faith the *trap of the Huguenots*.

The Protestants of France never had been reduced to so frightful an extremity, when suddenly Francis II. was seized with a severe fit of sickness. Cardinal Lorraine ordered public processions for his recovery. The young Prince implored the Virgin and the Saints, saying, with a silly fanaticism in which he had been brought up, that if it pleased God to restore him to health, he would spare neither wife, mother, brothers, nor sisters, if they should be even suspected of heresy. But these vows were not regarded. Francis II. died in his seventeenth year, after a reign of seventeen months, the 5th of December, 1560.

No one took care of his funeral, inasmuch as the queen-mother, the Bourbons, the Guises, the cardinals, and the courtiers, were occupied with their own affairs. Francis II. was borne to St. Denis, by an old blind bishop and two old servants of his household.

Before he had breathed his last, the Lorraines had barricaded themselves in their houses, where they remained thirty-six hours, until they had been assured of the intentions of the queen-mother and the King of Navarre. They were allowed their government and dignity, but they were no longer masters of the State. Charles IX., aged ten years and a half, was proclaimed king, Catherine de' Medici regent, Antoine de Bourbon lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He might have claimed, as first

prince of the blood, the regency ; but he lost the play by a want of firmness. The Prince of Condé came forth from prison ; the Constable Anne de Montmorency recovered his office of grand-master in the service of the new king ; and Admiral Coligny, asking nothing for himself, tried to avail himself of these circumstances to gain the free exercise of religion. The whole face of affairs was changed. The faithful breathed again.

The States-General opened at Orleans, the 13th of December. The Chancellor, Michael de l'Hospital, taking the lead in the discussion, in the name of the minor king and of the regent, averred that the disorder of the Church had been the cause of the birth of the heresies, and that a conscientious reformation alone could extinguish them. He counselled the Catholics to *garnish themselves with virtues and morals*, and to attack their adversaries with the weapons of charity, prayer, and persuasion. "The dagger has little power over spirit," said he ; "mildness will be more serviceable than severity. Let us throw aside these diabolical names, these names of parties, factions, and seditions—*Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists*. Let us not change the name of Christian." He concluded by proposing the assembly of a national council to pacify all religious differences.

The orator of the *Tiers-Etats*, advocate at the Parliament of Bordeaux, Jean Lange, attacked very sharply three vices of the Catholic clergy,—ignorance, avarice, and luxury, hinting that the troubles would cease when these abuses should be reformed. Jacques de Silly, lord of Rochefort, spoke for the noblesse, and spared the priests no more than the orator of the people. He complained of their intervention in the administration of justice, of their great possessions, of the absenteeism of the bishops, of their want of zeal in the instruction of their parishioners, and ended by demanding temples for the Protestant nobles.

Some months after, at the States of St. Germain, another

orator of the *Tiers-Etat*, the chief magistrate of the city of Autun, even proposed, supporting himself upon his documents, the delivering up of the property of the Church, which he estimated at one hundred and twenty millions of livres. The king might sell these possessions, and reserve from them forty-eight millions, which, at the least, would produce an annual revenue of four millions, which would suffice for the maintenance of the priests. There would remain seventy-two millions, of which forty-two might be employed to extinguish the debts of the crown, and the remaining thirty to encourage agriculture and commerce. As to the differences of the religious sects, the same orator proposed to settle them in a national council, *free and legitimate, of sure access and return.*

It is astonishing to find in 1560 plans which were not accomplished till 1789. The loud voice of the nation made itself heard. The civil wars had not yet fanaticized their minds, and rendered their hearts pitiless. It was one of those brief moments when the Reformation might have become dominant in France. The noblesse were three-fourths gained; the *bourgeoisie* were ready; the magistracy waited, and the common people, already favorable to the new ideas in one part of the kingdom, would not have followed the impulse in the other. What, then, arrested this vast movement, by which France, and even Europe, might have been regenerated! Let us, first, think of God, whose ways are shrouded in mystery. But in considering men, what do we find! Some, doubtless, with sincere convictions, influenced by ancient traditions, and respect for their memories and customs;—let us not attribute to selfish motives only great human events; but we must indicate also the tortuous policy of Catherine de' Medici, the ambition of the Guises, the intrigues of the King of Spain, the calculations and the cupidity of the clergy.

The position of the priests was embarrassing at the States-

General of Orleans, and they brought so much more of violence as they felt themselves weaker. The orator whom they had chosen, Jean Quentin, professor of the canon law, commenced by expressing regret that the *noblesse* and the Tiers-Etats had wished to speak for their own interests, since the States-General formed a body of which the king was the head, and of which *the Church was the mouth*. He accused the heretics with having no other gospel than that of overthrowing altars, refusing ecclesiastical obedience, and subverting the civil laws; for which he invited his majesty to persecute them to the utmost, the sword being in his hand for nothing else. He added, that since they were excommunicated, they should not associate, nor converse, nor trade with them; but beat them, smite them even to death, for fear of participating in their sin.

"Sire," said he in closing, "all the clergy of your kingdom, on both knees, with their body and heart humbly bent before your majesty, beseech you to be their protector and defender: that if any grave-digger of old heresies dead and buried undertakes the resurrection of any sect already condemned; and that to this end he should present a petition, should demand temples, and the permission of inhabiting this kingdom," (here all eyes were turned upon Coligny, who sat opposite the speaker,) "we supplicate that he be held and declared a heretic, and that he be proceeded against according to the rigor of the canonical and civil laws, that the wretch may be cut away from our midst."

Although they were accustomed to the declamations and invectives of the priests, this harangue, dictated by a savage fanaticism, astonished the States-General. The Admiral demanded satisfaction for the queen-mother for the insult which had been done her, and Jean Quentin was compelled to offer her apologies. "A few days after," says Jean de Serres, "he

died from vexation, finding himself unmasked by several replies which were published against his harangues, in which his calumnies and falsehoods were clearly refuted."

XIV.

The States-General had favoured the cause of the Reformation. Cardinal Lorraine, discredited because he had played but a secondary part, retired to his archbishopric of Rheims. The Duke of Guise departed from the court: and the queen-mother, seeing that both the secular orders disapproved religious persecutions, manifested, in connection with Chancellor L'Hospital, some good-will towards the Calvinists. Coligny had the Reformed faith preached in his apartments: and Catherine de' Medici opened the pulpit of the palace of Fontainebleau to the Bishop of Meaux—the same one who spoke so strongly against the abuses of the Roman Church in the Assembly of the Notables. The courtiers, always prone to range themselves on the side of fortune and power, flocked around the new masters, and let a Dominican monk, who was preaching Lent, speak in the desert.

"It seems to me," says, with bitterness, the Jesuit Maimbourg of the queen-mother, "that, to judge the most favourably, it can be said boldly, that if all she did in this time were only a feint, she did very wrong to simulate so well, that she gave reason for believing she belonged to the new sect. For not only did she permit the ministers to preach in the apartments of the princes, where all the people ran to hear them, while a poor monk who preached Lent at Fontainebleau was abandoned; but she wished to be present with all the ladies of the court at the

sermons of the Bishop of Valence, who preached openly, in one of the halls of the castle, the new dogmas he had drawn from the heresies of Luther and Calvin. All at once it produced so strange an alteration at the court, that it was said she was a complete Calvinist. Although it was the time of Lent, they sold publicly meat, which was served upon all tables. They spoke no more of hearing mass; and the young king, whom they had brought there to save appearances, went to it almost alone. They laughed at the authority of the popes, the worship of the saints, images, indulgences, and treated the ceremonies of the Church as superstitions."¹

The Jesuit was right in saying that it was only a feint for the queen-mother to attend the preaching, but he might have added that it was the same for her to go to mass. Incredulous, as was the custom in her time among the higher classes of the Italians, Catherine de' Medici perhaps still believed in magic and sorcery, but not in the veracity of Christianity; and instead of serving God, she served herself through him.

However this may be, the impulse was communicated to the provinces. How interdict the public assemblies of the Protestants, when sustained by the example of the court itself! The timid grew bold, the temporizers¹ decided. The enthusiasm became general. Controversial writings and appeals flooded the kingdom. We have an ample collection of them, under the titles of *Apologetic Complaint of the Churches*, *Christian Exhortation to the King of France*, *Remonstrances to the Queen and King of Navarre*, and others similar.

In these days of fervor and hope, the faithful believed that the triumph of the Reformation was in the hands of the chief personages of State. "It rests with you alone," wrote they to

¹ *Hist. du Calvinisme*, pp. 192, 193.

Catherine de' Medici and Antoine de Bourbon, "to say whether Jesus Christ shall be known and adored by the whole kingdom, in all truth, justice, and holiness. For if you say that all superstition and idolatry may be extirpated, it will be done immediately, without any more controversy. This word alone going from your mouth will drive away all those who have created disturbances in the Church. This word alone will strip them of force, virtue, or power."

Pastors were wanting: they wrote to Switzerland for them. Geneva, the canton of Vaud, and the canton of Neuchâtel, furnished them as many as they could. They were deprived themselves of those whose services were the most useful, that they might satisfy wants still more pressing than their own. Many young men, taught under the eye of Calvin, and others of mature age, of different professions, were consecrated to the ministry of the Gospel. All beheld, in the transports of their faith, a great nation to conquer.

The priests on their side, we may well believe, did not sleep; and as they found very little countenance at court, they turned to the people. There were disturbances in several cities: at Pontoise, Amiens, and especially at Beauvais. Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, accused of having, on Easter-day, 1561, celebrated the Lord's Supper in his palace, after the Genevan style, was assailed by the populace, and the Marshal de Montmorency was obliged to come from Paris, with a numerous escort, to smother the sedition.

L'Hospital sent to the bailiffs and seneschals letters-patent, ordering the liberation of the prisoners taken on account of their religion, and to enter no more houses under pretext of illegal assemblies. But the Parliament of Paris, displeased with the sending of these letters before they had been registered, and hostile to the Reformation since they had seized, by a stroke of

authority, Anne Dubourg and six or seven other counsellors, demanded that the preceding ordinances should be strictly observed.

This opposition, nevertheless, would have been powerless, if another had not been formed under the name of the *Triumvirate*. It was composed of the Duke of Guise, Constable Montmorency, and Marshal de St. André. Behind this association was the Cardinal of Lorraine, with the mass of the clergy; above, the Pope and Philip II.; below, the people, especially of the North and West. The *Triumvirate*, which succeeded in gaining even the King of Navarre, was the greatest obstacle to the progress of the Reformation in France;—it is important, therefore, to speak of its origin and character.

The Duke of Guise, kept at a distance by Catherine de' Medici, and hated by the princes of the blood, could not recover alone the authority which the death of Francis II. had lost him. He had recourse to foreigners, and united himself very closely with the ambassador of Spain, who had received direction from Philip II. to foment the disturbances in the kingdom, that he might enfeeble it, and hold it at his mercy. This ambassador, as the Abbé Auquetil rightly remarks, played the part of a minister of the French government; he gave his advice in all affairs, praised, censured, corrected, and the Guises acted only with him.

But the support of the Spaniard was not enough for the Lorraines. An abandoned female, the old favorite of Henry II., Diana de Poitiers, who feared that the spoils of the Huguenots would be reclaimed from her, undertook to reconcile the old Constable with the Duke of Guise.

Anne de Montmorency was then sixty-four years of age. A companion in arms of Francis I., who had appointed him Constable in 1538, a brave cavalier, a loyal servant of the crown,

capable of supporting disgrace with courage, but of a narrow mind and rough character, taking obstinacy for force, and rudeness for dignity. In religion he knew nothing further than that he was the first Christian Baron, and that the kings, his masters, were Catholics. He concluded from this that he should give heresy no quarter. Brantôme informs us what was the singular piety of Anne de Montmorency. He fasted Friday very regularly, and did not fail to repeat his Pater-nosters morning and evening; but sometimes he interrupted them, saying: "Hang such an one; fasten that one to a tree; pierce this one with pikes; kindle a fire a quarter of a league around." Then he continued his devotions, as if nothing had happened.

His hands were not entirely clean in the financial affairs, which he had managed under Henry II., and when he understood that the States-General demanded him to give in his accounts, he imagined it was an intrigue of the Bourbons, who aimed at his honor as well as his purse. From that moment he retired from them.

In vain his eldest son, the Marshal de Montmorency, *esteemed one of the wisest lords of the kingdom*, says Mezeray, represented to him that he could not, and should not separate himself from the princes of the blood, and from his nephews the Châtillons, in order to become the instrument of the house of Lorraine; the opinionated Constable always replied: "I am a good servant of the king and of my little masters, (it is thus he designated the young brothers of Charles IX.,) and I will not suffer any one to disapprove the actions of the late king, for the honor of his majesty."

The wife of the Constable, Magdalen de Savoie, who *was ordinarily surrounded with priests and monks*, says Jean de Serres, *inflamed him by her importunate clamors*. She made him value highly his title as first Christian Baron. "As first

officer of the crown," she said to him, "and descended not only from the first baron, but from the first Christian of France, you should not endure the humiliation of the Roman Church, the old motto of the house of Montmorency being—*God help the first Christian!*"

Diana de Poitiers, Magdalen de Savoie, the Lorraines, the priests, the ambassador of Philip II., managed so well that the Duke of Guise and Anne de Montmorency communed together on Easter-day. The skilful managers of the affair had taken care not to forget the conscience of the old man.

The third personage of the Triumvirate was Jacques d'Albon, Marshal of St. André. Notwithstanding his high military office, he had no power by himself, and sought allies to give him a position. He was an epicure, who had squandered the confiscated property of the Huguenots. Brantôme, so mild towards the vices of the courtiers, says of him: "He was much disposed at all times to love his ease, the pleasures and excessive luxuries of the table. He was the first who introduced them at the court, and surely in too great excess. He showed himself a true Lucullus in feasting and magnificence."¹

Here are the authors of the Triumvirate, and the pretended friends of the Catholic religion. Human motives alone united them, and religion was their pretext.

The Guises had taken confidence and courage. It appeared evident in the language held by Cardinal Lorraine, after the solemn coronation of Charles IX., in the month of May, 1561. He made great complaints against the assemblies of the Huguenots, which were increasing, and demanded that a new edict should be deliberated and decreed in full parliament, before the princes the lords, and all the members of the privy council.

¹ T. III. p. 278.

The sessions lasted twenty days; and an ordinance was sent forth, which, in granting to all an amnesty for the faults committed by both parties, and in inviting the priests to inflame the people no more, prohibited the public assemblies of religion till the assembling of a National Council, under pain of confiscation of their property and banishment. This ordinance, which was adopted by a majority of only three votes, bore the name of the edict of July.

The Catholic party flattered themselves with having accomplished a great victory; and the Duke of Guise said, as he went out of the court of the parliament: "To sustain this edict, my sword shall never rest in its scabbard."

But was it not madness to hope that men who, during forty years, had braved the scaffold and the flames of the funeral pile, would stop before the threat of banishment? The sequel will clearly show; and France must still pass through terrible catastrophes before both parties shall have become disposed to establish peace on more equitable conditions.

BOOK SECOND.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE OF POissy TO THE
EDICT OF NANTES.

(1561-1598.)

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ALL the ordinances recently granted on matters of religion were only provisory. They announced the approaching assembly of a council which was to close the controversies definitely, and this was soon a general clamor in France.

The idea was not new. From the very dawning of the Reformation, Germany had demanded the convocation of a council universal and truly free. The popes had for a long time opposed it; they remembered the great assemblies of Constance and Basle, and feared to confront the States-General of the Church. Compelled at last by the entreaties of princes and people, they had chosen for the place of assembly a town of Italy, peopled the council with their creatures, and suspended or reopened the sessions, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, according to their political views. The Protestants could not acknowledge this vain show of a universal council, and did not appear. The enlightened Catholics of France were themselves offended, and they formed the project of assembling a national council. But the Cardinals and French bishops were unwilling. "Why

dispute with people so obstinate?" said the old Cardinal de Tournon; "if they desire to expose their means of defence, let them go to the Council of Trent; they shall receive safe-conducts thither, and justify themselves, if they can." But the Cardinal of Lorraine understanding better the mind of the court, and counting much upon his eloquence to crush the Huguenots, as the authors of his party reproach him, was of a different opinion. He proposed to authorize not a council, but a *colloque*, or a simple theological conference, and he obtained, by the aid of this half-way term, the consent of the heads of the clergy.

All this affair, however, was full of concealments, after-thoughts, and misunderstandings, and this alone gives the key to the character and result of the *colloque* of Poissy.

The Reformed pastors recalling what had passed at Zurich, Geneva, and other places of Switzerland and Germany, wanted to treat with the priests on an equal footing, taking the Bible for the highest arbiter of the controversy, and according to the chiefs of the State the right of deciding in the last resort between the two parties.

The cardinals and bishops understood it all otherwise. No equality. They held themselves to be the only true representatives of the Church, and regarded the doctors of the Reformation as misled, whom they deigned to listen to out of pure condescension. They did not accept the Bible as the only arbiter of debate. They reserved themselves, in fine, to be the judges in their own cause, and to decide alone what they would admit or condemn.

The Catholic clergy, in one sense, were more in the truth, since it does not belong to the civil power to settle religious questions; but in another sense, they were completely wrong; for in consenting to discuss these matters before the depositaries of political authority, they had the air of granting what in reality they

did not. The Conference of Poissy could not be, on this account, any thing but a simple theological tournament, or rather, as it appeared in the end, a mere mockery. The priests were very sure, whatever happened, to gain their case, since they reserved for themselves the absolute right of determining it.

The pastors convoked to the number of twelve arrived, accompanied by twenty-two lay delegates. The most eminent of them was Theodore de Bèze; he came to take the place of Calvin, for whom the magistrates of Geneva had vainly demanded hostages of high rank.

Theodore de Bèze was born in 1519, at Vezelay, a little town of Burgundy, of a noble family. He was confided to the care of the celebrated Professor Melchior Walmar, who instructed him in the Scriptures, and by his example, as much as by his precepts, sowed in his soul the first seeds of piety. Thirty years after, Bèze testified his thankfulness to him, and called him father on sending him his confession of faith.

But these pious teachings were at first smothered under the passions of youth. Surrounded at Paris with all which could mislead him, pleasing, rich, full of spirit, he lived a man of the world, published a volume of light poetry under the name of *Juvenilia*, and contracted a secret marriage. He did not wish to make it public, because one of his uncles, who was in orders, had resigned in his favor the revenues of certain ecclesiastical benefices.

A severe illness awakened his conscience. "I had scarcely strength to rise," he wrote to Walmar, "when breaking all my bonds, and making up my little package, quitted at once my country, my parents, my friends, to follow Jesus Christ. I exiled myself voluntarily, and retired to Geneva with my wife." He had his marriage confirmed before the Church, and disavowed all the vices of his youth. This was in the month of

November, 1548; he was then twenty-nine years and four months old.

The Jesuit Garasse, the Jesuit Maimbourg, and what more surprises us, the Cardinal de Richelieu, seized upon the poetry of a student of twenty years to attack the austere life of the Reformer. Did they not, then, understand the holy right of repentance?

Having become poor because he subordinated every thing to his convictions, Theodore de Bèze, the refined man of the *salons* of Paris, determined to become a printer, associating himself with John Crespin, the author of the *History of the Martyrs*. But if he was humble enough to accept this position, he was too highly gifted to remain there. He was appointed professor of the Greek language at Lausanne, and afterwards professor of theology, rector of the academy, and pastor at Geneva.

Here intimate relations were formed between himself and Calvin. Both lived upon the same faith and the same hope; both engaged with the same zeal in propagating the doctrines of the Reformation in France. Calvin had a stronger and vaster genius, a more severe logic, a glance more penetrating, profounder knowledge, a stronger will; he was the guide and master of Theodore de Bèze. But the latter had an easier and more copious flow of words, more engaging manners, more congeniality with the relations of social life. The one was better fitted to advise and govern men, the other to deal with them. It has been sometimes said that Bèze was the Melancthon of the new Luther. There is some truth in this comparison. But the Reformation of Germany appeared to have greater need of Melancthon than he of Geneva had of Theodore de Bèze. Melancthon was the counsellor, the supporter of Luther, and completed him: Bèze was but the most illustrious disciple of Calvin.

We have to see with what modesty he placed himself behind

him, listening to him with deference, and seeking no other glory—if, indeed, he sought any—than that of reproducing the image of his master. “He became so strongly attached to Calvin,” says his biographer, Antoine de La Faye, “that he scarcely ever left him. The conversation of this great man was so profitable to him, that he made extraordinary progress, both in doctrine and in a knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline.”

He composed a great many treatises, most of which are of a polemic character. His chief works are his Commentaries on the New Testament, collections of sermons, the translation in French verse of a part of the Psalms, and the History of the Reformed Churches of France up to the year 1562.

Bèze went to preach at Nérac, and in the Béarn, in 1560, at the call of the King of Navarre; and scarcely had he returned to Geneva when he was called to the Conference of Poissy, as being, after Calvin, the most able to sustain the cause of the Reformation in that assembly. “He had,” says his biographer, “a medium stature, a countenance well formed, and a very agreeable address. . . . God had given him a mind above the common, an exquisite judgment, a wonderful memory, a singular eloquence, and an affability so engaging that he won the hearts of all who saw him.”

On his arrival at Poissy, he preached publicly at the court, before an attentive and captivated assembly. This was the 24th of August, 1561. Eleven years after, to a day, Charles IX. and Catherine de’ Medici sounded the tocsin of Saint Bartholomew! O the inconstancy of human things! O the profound mysteries of the future!

The same evening, having met in the apartments of the King of Navarre, Cardinal Lorraine they held a conversation on

¹ *Vie de Théod. de Bèze*, pp. 207, 208.

articles of doctrine, and especially the communion. The Cardinal seemed not particularly anxious about the dogma of transubstantiation, provided the real presence was maintained in some manner, and, after hearing Bèze to the end, he said: "I am very glad to have seen and listened to you, and I adjure you in the name of God, that we should confer together, that I may understand your reasons, and you mine, and you will find that I am not so black as I have been represented."

Thereupon Madame de Crussol, who was free-spoken, exclaimed: "You are a good man to-day, but how will you be to-morrow? Bring hither paper and ink, that the Cardinal may sign what he has uttered and avowed; for he will soon say the contrary." She divined justly. The report ran, the next day, that at the first blow, the Cardinal had shut the mouth of the Professor of Geneva. The Constable expressed his joy at the dinner of the queen. "I was there," coolly replied Catherine de' Medici, "and I can assure you that you are misinformed."

The pastors presented petitions, asking that the bishops might not be their judges, since they were their adversaries; that the *colloque* might be presided over by the king and the chief personages of the State; that all differences should be decided by the Word of God alone, and that secretaries, chosen from both parties, of equal number, might digest verbal processes, to be binding only after being approved and signed. This was to put the finger on the knot of the question, but the bishops would have broken up twenty conferences sooner than consent to such arrangements. The queen-mother well knew it; she made a vague response, in which she invited the pastors to content themselves with her simple word, that the prelates would not be the judges of the discussion, and she would not promise any thing in writing.

The eve of the conference, twelve doctors of the Sorbonne

arrived at Saint-Germain, with downcast look, and supplicated Catherine not to allow the heretics to speak, or at least to grant them this favor only with closed doors. "It will bring no edification," said they, "and the king is so young, he would be infected by the doctrine." "I engaged to do it for good reasons," replied the queen; "and we cannot shrink from it now: but hold your peace; all will be well."

II.

The Conference of Poissy opened the 9th of September, 1561. It was the grand spectacle of the moment for Christendom. The Pope trembled for fear of losing the most beautiful of his provinces, and had sent in haste the Cardinal of Ferrara, with the General of the Jesuits, to embarrass the conference. The King of Spain, partly from policy, partly from fanaticism, feared that the reunion of the religions would be accomplished in France. The Catholic and the Protestant States awaited with the same impatience the issue of the debate.

On the day appointed, they assembled in the refectory of the Convent of Poissy. King Charles IX., a child of eleven years, sat on the throne, with the princes and princesses of his family, on either side the cavaliers of the Order, the officers and ladies of the court. On either side of the long square were the Cardinals de Tournon, de Lorraine, de Châtillon, de Bourbon, de Guise, and of Armagnac; below them a crowd of bishops and doctors. The deputies of the Reformed Churches had not yet been introduced—the first mark of inequality.

The young king arises and recites a discourse, in which he exhorts those present to lay aside all passion, and debate only for the honor of God, the acquittance of their conscience, and

the re-establishment of the peace of the kingdom. Chancellor Michel de L'Hôpital follows: "You are assembled," said he, "to proceed to the reformation of morals and doctrine. It is not expedient to wait for a general council, since many princes have delayed sending; some do not wish it, and it would be composed of foreigners, for the most part, who are not acquainted with our affairs. As to what has been said, that two councils cannot be held at the same time, it is not the first time it has been so. The best means of understanding each other is to proceed with humility, avoiding subtle and curious disputes. There is no need of many books, but to comprehend well the Word of God, and conform ourselves to it as far as possible. Do not regard as enemies those who are called Protestants, who are Christians, and baptized like yourselves; and do not condemn them through prejudice. Receive them as a father does his children."

The prelates exhibited much ill humor at this discourse. The idea of a reformation in doctrine, and the advice to take for their rule the Word of God, seemed to favor the petitions of the Reformers. Cardinal de Tournon asked for a copy of the Chancellor's speech, that he might deliberate with his colleagues, since it contained, he alleged, many things of great consequence, which had not been mentioned in the letters of convocation. The conference was therefore threatened with a disruption before it had commenced; but L'Hôpital refused, and they passed on.

At last Theodore de Beze is introduced by the Duke of Guise, with ten other pastors (Pierre Martyr had not yet arrived,) and twenty-two lay deputies. Their grave and simple costume forms a strange contrast with the insignia of the prelates and the gentlemen of the court. But they present themselves with confidence; for they know that they have God above them, and behind them a great part of the nation.

They desire to go beyond the balustrade, to seat themselves

by the side of the Catholic doctors. They are stopped; a new mark of inequality. It pleased the priests that the disciples of the Reformation should be retained at the bar like indicted men. They bow respectfully, with head uncovered; and Theodore de Bèze bending the knee with the pastors, makes a solemn confession of the sins of the people, and implores the benediction of heaven upon the assembly. They listen with as much emotion as amazement.

After thanking the king for the favor of having accorded to the Reformers the right of justifying themselves before him, he addresses himself to the prelates, and supplicates them in the name of the great God, who will be the judge of all, to join with him, not in giving themselves to barren discussions, but to the discovery of truth. He does not wish to attack what he knows to be eternal, that is to say, the true Church of the Lord. He promises for himself and his brethren to amend, if they find themselves in error. "And may it please God," cried he, "that without going beyond, instead of contrary arguments, we shall with one voice chant a canticle, and give each other the hand of friendship."

Bèze then unfolded the chief doctrines of the Reformation; and on the points of discipline, he declared, among other things, that the Reformers professed obedience to their kings and superiors, with this sole reservation, that the first obedience is due to God, the King of kings and Lord of lords. His discourse finished, he and his brethren again bend the knee, and presented to Charles IX. the Confession of Faith of the Churches of France.

A profound silence had reigned throughout the assembly, till he said, in speaking of the Sacrament of the Communion: "If any one asks us whether we deny the presence of Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper, we reply, No. But, if we consider the distance of places, as we must do when the question of his corporeal

presence and his humanity is directly considered, we say that his body is as far from bread as the sky is from the earth. . . ."

At these words long murmurs broke forth from the ranks of the bishops. Some cried out: *He has blasphemed*. Others rose and wished to go out. Cardinal de Tournon had interrupted the speaker, and prayed the king to impose silence upon him, or permit them to retire. But the king, the queen, the princes, quietly remained in their place, and Bèze was able to unfold his thoughts, which he resumed, as follows:—"On the one hand, that Jesus Christ is in heaven, and not elsewhere; on the other, that the faithful are made participants of his body and blood by faith, in a spiritual manner."

Nervously had he ceased speaking, when Cardinal de Tournon, trembling and stammering with rage, said to the king: "We really thought these new evangelists would say things unworthy of the ear of a most Christian king. But, we pray you, give it no faith, and suspend your judgment until some one has replied. We surely hope that you will be brought back, . . . (and recollecting himself immediately), not brought back, but remain firm in the good way."

We should read in this strange incident, the discussion excited more than a century after between Bossuet, Basnage, and Bayle. That the Cardinal de Tournon, the dean of the French cardinals, an old man of sixty-two years, was transported, finds an excuse in his great age. But how explain the clamor of the other heads of the clergy? They had only reproduced, in measured terms, the doctrine of the Protestants on the Eucharist. The prelates should have understood it; they should also have discerned that they would defend it. What, then, signified this sudden wrath? It was either a dissimulation, or it was madness. Would they seek a pretext for breaking up the conference? Admitting even that the bishops saw in their adversaries only accused men,

yet even such have at least the right of declaring their convictions, and to interrupt one by the cry of blasphemy, was once the most flagrant of contradictions.

After the session, the prelates held a council with their theologians to deliberate what they should do. "Would to God," said the Cardinal of Lorraine to them, "that he was mute, or we were deaf!" Their embarrassment was great: they were obliged, in fact, to reply, no longer by punishment, but by reasons. They agreed that they must confine themselves to the justification of the two points—the Church and the Lord's Supper; and Claude d'Espence, the most learned of their doctors, was charged to prepare the materials of the discourse Cardinal Lorraine was to pronounce.

Meantime, the bishops resolved to frame a Confession of Faith which they were all to sign, and afterwards present to the pastors for signature. If the latter refused, the anathema was to be immediately fulminated against them, and all discussion ended. It is thus that the Roman clergy pretended to confer with their adversaries! It should be stated that some of the Catholic theologians had honesty enough to combat the resolutions of the majority.

The deputies of the churches, having heard of this, complained to the king, that it was contrary to all order, divine and human, though even bishops were their judges, that they should be condemned without a hearing.

"We declare," they added, "that if, for lack of having heard us, these disturbances cannot be quelled, or that greater ones happen to our great regret, we are clear and free from all blame, since we have sought and followed all means of harmony." The Chancellor promised to do justice towards these complaints, and compelled the bishops to desist from their project.

The 16th of September, in the same refectory of Poissy, and

before the same assembly, Cardinal de Lorraine pronounced his discourse on the two articles mentioned. He declared that the Church is infallible, and that if a part falls into error, it must recur to the Roman See, recognized as its head from the early days of Christianity. As to the Lord's Supper, he insisted upon the real presence, and deplored that what has been given us as a means of union, should have become a subject of discord. He closed by addressing a pathetic appeal to the king, praying him to stand firm by the religion his ancestors had transmitted to him from Clovis.

Theodore de Bèze asked permission to reply on the spot ; but the prelates had already risen in tumult, and Cardinal Tournon said to the king : " If those who have separated themselves will subscribe what has been said by Monsieur de Lorraine, they will be more attentively heard upon other points. If not, let all audience be refused them ; let your majesty send them back and purge his kingdom ! This is what the assembly of the prelates humbly begs of you, that in this most Christian kingdom there may be but one faith, one law, and one king."

The doctors of the Reformation could then comprehend with what miserable derision the prelates regarded this Conference of Poissy. There was no free debate ; not even the appearance of a deliberation ; not even the patience of a tribunal, which listens to the accused till their defence is finished. An unconditional, absolute adhesion to the two points of the Church and the Lord's Supper, which involved logically all the others ; if not, anathema and banishment.

They made anew their bitter but useless complaints. To say the truth, from that moment the colloquy existed no more ; and the Cardinal of Ferrara, who arrived during these transactions, confirmed the clergy in their resolutions, by saying, that the pope had learned, with extreme displeasure, the holding of that

kind of National Council. They had, therefore, no more communications except in private, in presence of some persons carefully selected, and the lay deputies of the churches did not even obtain permission to be present.

The 24th of September, in the small prioral chamber of Poissy, Theodore de Bèze discussed the two contested articles with Cardinal Lorraine, Doctor Claude d'Espence, and a certain Claude de Saintes, *a little white friar*, half theologian, half buffoon, who treated his adversary as an Anabaptist, because he declared that he had received the Holy Spirit.

Cardinal Lorraine had prepared a surprise, from which he expected much : it was to cause a dispute between the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctors. At the commencement of the colloquy he had written to the Governor of Mentz, to send him some theologians of the Augsburg Confession, well instructed, and, above all, obstinate in their opinions. The theologians came, indeed ; but one of them having died of the plague on arriving at Paris, they dared not call the others immediately to court.

Nevertheless, the Cardinal did not wish to lose all the fruit of his ingenious invention, and taking from his bosom a memoir, which he had received from the Palatine Courts, he called on the ministers to declare, yes or no, whether they would sign the three or four principal articles. They asked time to reflect.

The 26th of September they presented themselves before the queen, who had with her the heads of the clergy, and said to her that they desired to know if the Cardinal of Lorraine and other prelates, renouncing the dogma of transubstantiation, would place their own signatures to the extract from the Confession of Augsburg. " If it is desired that we should sign any thing," said Theodore de Bèze, " it is reasonable that Cardinal Lorraine also sign what he presents to us in the name of his party."

The Cardinal was highly offended at the proposition. "We are not equal, you and us; far from it," said he. "As for myself, I am not forced to sign on the will of another; I subscribe neither to those who have made this Confession, nor to you." "Since, then, you yourself," replied Bèze, "are not willing to subscribe it, it is not just to demand that we should subscribe it." Bossuet pretends that Theodore de Bèze got out of this difficult position only by a subtilty. It is possible, but his antagonist had given him the example.

At this same conference, Jacques Lainez, the General of the Jesuits, who had just arrived with the legate, was present. He pronounced, in the Italian language, a discourse which astonished the most fiery Catholics, it was so ridiculous and insolent! After having compared the heretics to foxes and wolves, he said they should not dispute with them, but send them before the Council of Trent, and that it did not belong either to the laity, or women, to judge in these matters. This last stroke fell upon Catherine de' Medici, who showed herself highly offended.

Passing to the question of the Lord's Supper, the General of the Jesuits wished to explain, by saying that Jesus Christ is present in the sacrament, like a king who should himself play his own part in fêtes celebrated in his honor. He dwelt long upon this comparison, and drawing deep sighs, wept at the end of his discourse. De Bèze replied, with disdain, that he "had made a farce of the Supper, and introduced Jesus Christ as the juggler; an illustration inappropriate, and unworthy of being uttered or heard." Then leaving this personage, he entered into a more serious debate with Claude d'Espence.

Such was the début of the Jesuits in our country; it betokened the grand rôle they were to play in later times. It was the prelates assembled at Poissy who authorized their establishment in France, so that, according to the judicious remark of an

historian, the assembly from which they expected an equitable arrangement between the two religions only served to introduce into the kingdom those who shrunk from no means for its prevention.

The Conference was reduced to proportions still more narrow. The queen-mother directed certain theologians of both parties to construct a common formula upon the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The five Catholics selected having been chosen among the most moderate, succeeded in coming to an agreement with the Protestants by the aid of those vague terms which every one can interpret as he pleases.

This news having spread to the court, many persons rejoiced, and Catherine de Medici sent for Théodore de Bèze to signify to him her satisfaction. Cardinal de Lorraine, after reading the formulary, appeared to be satisfied. But the assembly of the clergy and the doctors of the Sorbonne protested that this document was insufficient, captious, erroneous, heretical ; and to complete it, they presented to the queen a Confession composed in the strictest Catholic sense, demanding that ministers, if they refused to sign it, should be considered as obstinate people, separated from the Church, and expelled from the most Christian kingdom.

There was nothing more to be debated, and the colloquy terminated on the 9th of October. One point alone had been placed in a clear light : that the hope of bringing both communions to a unity by mutual concessions was vain, and that it was necessary either that the one should be exterminated by the other, or that they should live on an equality. This last idea, so little comprehended till this time, began to dawn upon some highly intelligent minds, and especially upon that of the Chancellor L'Hospital, as we shall soon see.

III.

Notwithstanding the inauspicious issue of the Conference of Poissy, the courage of the Reformers redoubled, for they had had the opportunity of exposing their faith before the chief personages of the kingdom and the princes of the Roman Church. They could no longer be accused of infamous crimes, nor delivered, without the form of trial, to the sword of the executioner. The timid, the undecided, flocked to the standard of the Reformation, and we behold the reproduction of a movement analogous to those we have already noticed on former occasions.

Important towns, Milhan, St. Foy, Lacanne, and some hundreds of villages, separated themselves at once from Catholicism. A priest, named Beaulieu, declared to Farel that three hundred parishes of the Agenois had *put down* the mass. "I have understood from persons worthy of credit," he wrote, "that if, to-day, four thousand, nay, even six thousand ministers of the Lord, were to be found, they would be employed." Allowing for the exaggeration, the progress would still be considerable.

The aged Farel returned for some time to his native district, and passing by Grenoble, exhorted the faithful to hold their assemblies in broad day. Another preacher of great reputation at Geneva and in the south of Switzerland, Pierre Viret, came to Nîmes in the month of October, 1561, and the day after his arrival, eight thousand auditors gathered round his pulpit.

He was suffering from the results of two attempts to murder him. A female servant, bribed by some prelates, had tried to poison him at Geneva, and a priest of the Canton of Vaud, attacking him on the highway, had so severely beaten him that he was left for dead upon the spot. "It seemed to me," wrote

Viret, afterwards, during his first preaching at Nîmes, "that I was only a dried skeleton, covered with skin, by which some one had brought there my bones for burial; so that even those who were not of our religion, but were strong opposers of it, had the compassion even to say: *What has brought this poor man into our country? Has he come here only to die?* And I have even heard that when I ascended a pulpit for the first time, many seeing me, feared that I should sink before I could finish my sermon."

He, nevertheless, rendered great service to the Reformation at Nîmes, Lyons, Montpellier, and Orthez. He preached, according to the testimony of contemporaries, with a sweetness and a charm which belonged to him alone. It was not the vehemence of Farel, nor the depth of Calvin, but something melting and penetrating, which captivated the hearts of his hearers. Pierre Viret presided in 1563 over the National Synod of Lyons. Some of his controversial writings, of a lively and ingenious style, are still extant, the copies of which appear to have been worn out in the hands of the people.

In this grand religious movement, new Catholic churches were invaded; for, in many places, there were neither priests longer to celebrate the old worship, nor believers to attend it. And as there were in these churches crucifixes, images of saints, relics, and other objects which the Reformers regarded as monuments of idolatry, they were broken or thrown into the fire. These devastations were to be regretted. Pierre Viret and all wise men opposed it. But how could it be otherwise? The Protestants still imitated the ancient Christians without knowing it, and by the sole logic of circumstances. "On all sides," says M. de Châteaubriand, in his picture of the fourth century, "they demolished the temples, a loss ever to be regretted by the arts; but the material monument, as usual, succumbed, under the

intellectual force of the idea which has become a conviction in the human understanding."¹

There were, even at Paris, assemblies of eight thousand, fifteen thousand, some historians say of forty thousand persons. To avoid tumult, they were held without the city. The people went forth and returned by several gates. One of the ordinary preachers was Theodore de Bèze, whom the queen-mother had invited to remain in France, because perhaps his presence would be needed. He joined in marriage, at the court, during this time, M. de Rohan and Mademoiselle de Barbançon, in presence of the Queen of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, which inspired still more confidence in the faithful of Paris. The Reformation took an important position in the public and official acts.

The assemblies were divided into two great sections. The one celebrated their worship without the gate St. Anthony, at Popincourt; the other at the Faubourg St. Marceau, in a place called the Patriarcha. Several ministers preached at a time to the multitudes. The females took their places in the centre; then came the men, standing; next, some on horseback; at last, the ranks of soldiers or archers, who protected the unarmed multitude.

It is difficult, in the midst of the contradictions of contemporary witnesses, to calculate exactly what were the respective numbers of the two communions. Theodore de Bèze says that

¹ *Etudes hist.*, t. II. p. 198. This remark is applicable to all great political as well as religious ideas. In the days of the Revolution, the people overturned the monuments of the *ancien régime*. The symbols bear in the popular mind the odium of their origin and their destination. An illustration, which we may select from a thousand, will enable us to judge of the fury of the iconoclasts of the sixteenth century. The great Church of St. Croix, at Orleans, had been opened in the night and plundered during the first religious war. Condé and Coligny hastened to arrest these disorders. The prince himself pointed an arquebuse against a soldier who had ascended a ladder to break an image. "My lord," said the Huguenot, "wait till I have thrown down this idol, and then, if it please you, I will die."

if the Protestants had wished, either at Paris, or in the provinces, to use all their resources, they would have been able to maintain the struggle with the prospect of success. The Cardinal of St. Croix, a kind of titled spy, whom Rome kept in France from 1561 to 1565, reports, in his letters, that the members of the council themselves were doubtful about the numerical forces of the parties, and closes his last letter by saying that the kingdom is half Huguenot.

On the invitation of the queen-mother, Admiral Coligny presented her a list of more than two thousand one hundred and fifty churches, which petitioned for liberty of religion, submitting to the disposition of the king the persons and property of the Protestants. The project was to unite the different congregations in a common body, provided with regular pastors. To arrive at the exact number, we should reckon the great mass of new believers who had not yet been able to organize themselves according to the rules of discipline.

A letter, said to have been written by Chancellor L'Hospital, some days before the colloquy of Poissy, and sent to Pope Pius IV. on the part of the king, contained the curious indications which follow: "The fourth part of this kingdom is separated from the Communion of the Church, which fourth part is composed of gentlemen and the principal bourgeois of the cities, and of those of the common people who have seen the world, and are practised in arms, so that those who are called *seceders* have no lack of force. They have also no lack of council, having with them more than three-quarters of the literary men. They have no lack of money for conducting affairs, having with them a great part of the good and wealthy families, as well of the noblesse as of the *Tiers-Etat*."

In estimating, in this letter, the number of the Protestants at a fourth of the population, the malcontents and the undecided

were probably included, to render the Pontiff more tractable on projects of compromise. But those historians who pretend that the Calvinists formed, at this period, only a tenth of the population, fall into a much graver error, when we consider that this minority sustained, against the Catholics, long and fierce wars in all parts of the kingdom, and always forced them to conclude peace. The tenth part of the nation could not have defended itself so long against the nine other parts.

At Paris, the small tradesmen, fraternities, artisans, wharf-laborers, the lower class, in one word, remained almost universally attached to the ancient worship. The substantial *bourgeois* were divided; but the majority continued to profess Catholicism. The greater part of the nobles, on the contrary, had adopted the Reformed faith, or were inclined in its favor. Next to the Guises and the court, it is the city of Paris which has saved the Roman Church in France.

The position of the Protestants had become embarrassing and intolerable, in all respects, from the results of the edict of July. This edict, which tolerated domestic and forbid public assemblies, could not be carried out. New believers especially, when they were numerous, broke through the restrictions of the law; and, on the other hand, the Catholic populace, instigated by the priests, or carried away by their own fanaticism, committed atrocious acts. They bathed in blood at Tours, Sens, and Cahors. They burst forth even at Paris, in a conflict known under the name of the mutiny of St. Medard. There was no more order, nor rule, nor authority.

A check became necessary. The cardinals and bishops, faithful to their spirit of persecution, advised the banishment of all the preachers from the kingdom, and the extermination of those who resisted; but Catherine de Medici and L'Hospital replied that this would lead directly to a civil war. One thing only

seemed practicable to the Chancellor : this was to give the public assemblies of the Calvinists a legal sanction, imposing upon them certain conditions.

Hence the edict of January, 1562, was deliberated and adopted in a solemn assembly of the Notables. L'Hospital here developed, for the first time, the idea of the coexistence of two communions. He declared that if the king placed himself entirely on one side, he would soon gather an army to crush the other, and that it would be very difficult to make soldiers fight their fathers, brothers, sons, or intimate friends. "It is not the question now," said he, "of establishing religion, but of consolidating public affairs, and some may be citizens who are not Christians. Even an excommunicated man does not cease to be a citizen ; and one can live in quiet with those who hold different opinions, as we see in a family where Catholics live in peace, and love those who are of the new religion."

We glance at the principal articles of the edict of January. Protestants who had taken possession of the churches or ecclesiastical property, were ordered to restore them without delay. The demolition of images, the breaking of crosses, or any act which might cause offence, was prohibited, as well as the assembling within the walls of cities, day or night ; but they were allowed to assemble without the gates, and to have preaching, prayers, and other religious exercises. All except nobles were forbid to enter these assemblies with arms. Officers of the government were to be admitted to the religious services, when they pleased to be present.

A clause, which characterizes the spirit of the time, ordered the ministers to swear before the civil magistrate that they would preach conformably to the Word of God, and to the Nicene Creed, *in order*, said the edict, *that they may not multiply among our subjects new heresies*. The pastors did not complain

of this ; for they found in the obligation a barrier against the introduction of doctrines contrary to their Confession of Faith.

The edict of January better suited the wants of Paris and the northern and central provinces, than those of the south. How could entire villages go without the walls to celebrate their worship ? And to what service could they dispose of the churches which must, from want of Catholics, remain closed ? Yet Theodore de Bèze and his colleagues, though avowing that they had hoped more, invited the faithful, in the name of God, to observe the edict, and their counsels were generally followed. They restored the religious edifices ; they paid tithes to the priests ; and the Reformers occupied themselves only in organizing in peace their flocks under the guarantee of the laws.

But it was not thus in the opposite camp. The Guises had refused to be present at the assembly of the Notables, and Anne de Montmorency came there only to protest against the new ordinance. The parliaments of Bordeaux, Toulouse, Rouen, and Grenoble, enregistered the edict without difficulty. That of Dijon, on the contrary, being under the influence of the Duke d'Anmale, brother of the Cardinal of Lorraine, opposed to it a formal refusal. The Parliament of Paris yielded only after several positive orders, and added this clause : "In consideration of the urgent necessity, without approving of the new religion, and until it shall be otherwise decreed." This was, in accepting a law of tolerance, announcing the return of persecution.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the state of things became more endurable, and the public peace would have been gradually re-established, when the defection of Antoine de Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, opened the door to civil war and the most terrible calamities.

IV.

This intrigue was not addressed to the Prince of Condé, still less to Coligny; it was well known that their hearts were too generous and their wills too firm to be gained. The King of Navarre was a more easy prey to seduction, and the Legate of the Pope, the Cardinals, the Princes of Lorraine, and the ambassador of Spain, acted in concert. The details which follow are attested by the defenders of the Church of Rome themselves; this should be remembered to secure to them belief.

They first addressed themselves to the jealousy of the King of Navarre, by saying to him that he was, notwithstanding his title of lieutenant-general, only the second, or even the third personage of the Calvinistic party. They threw in his way dissolute females, because they knew that his passions prompted him to abandon himself to ignoble pleasures. Above all, they flattered his dream of the restitution of the kingdom of Navarre, or of an equivalent. Philip II., without making a written engagement, as it is obvious, offered him by his ambassador, at one time, a kingdom in Africa, that of Tunis; at another, the island of Sardinia, of which he should have the sovereignty, in consideration of a slight annuity. The memoirs of the time record the fantastic and marvellous descriptions they gave him of that land; it was one of those fortunate islands which exist only in fable. The Holy See, intervening in the comedy, promised its good offices in securing this magnificent kingdom to Antoine de Bourbon.

The historian Davila, as favorable as he is to the Catholic party, cannot keep himself from making sport of the credulity of the King of Navarre. "The ambassador, Mariquez," says he,

"renewed the negotiations with his ordinary artifices; they treated the clauses and conditions as seriously as if they were about to sign the treaty." ¹

The Cardinal of St. Croix initiates us, with the same frankness, into the secrets of this manœuvre. Antoine de Bourbon consented to separate himself from *the others*, (the Calvinists,) but he wished beforehand to enter into the possession of his estates, or to obtain a fair equivalent. Here we see a conscience set up at public sale for a kingdom, and for an imaginary one at best.

The Guises contrived another snare. They insinuated to the King of Navarre that he could espouse their niece, Mary Stuart, after the Pope had released him from his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, on account of heresy, and they allowed him to catch a glimpse of the crown of Scotland.

Antoine de Bourbon, beguiled, seduced, gained over, took occasion, at a conference with the theologians of both communions, to declare that the Calvinistic ministers, after their grand boastings, had not been able to withstand the Catholic doctors; and full of passion, like a man who has just sold himself, he treated them as charlatans and impostors, with whom he would have nothing more to do. On learning this, Cardinal de Lorraine exclaimed, with an air of triumph, "Behold what the truth has obtained in these assemblies which reproached me so much!"

Theodore de Bèze, who had been called into France by the King of Navarre, went to supplicate him several times not to abandon the cause of the Reformation. He was badly received, and in a letter addressed to Calvin the 26th of February, 1562, he said: "Never was there seen such an example of treason and wickedness. In an audience he has given me, he has had the

¹ *Hist. des guerres civiles de France*, t. I. p. 115.

barefacedness to treat me as if I was ignorant of things which even children understand."

Calvin wrote to the King of Navarre pressing letters, but in vain. Jeanne d'Albret herself employed, without success, her tears and prayers. *She secured the compassion of every one, says Bèze, except the king, her husband, so powerful was the spell upon him.* Antoine de Bourbon was so enraged as even to maltreat her; and Jeanne d'Albret, hoping for nothing more, retired into the Béarn.

She was born at Pau, in 1528. The only daughter of Margaret de Valois, she had the brilliant qualities of her mother, with a piety and character more decided. Her education was solid and well conducted; she understood Greek, Latin, Spanish, and wrote with great facility some verses to sustain a poetical tournament with Joachim du Bellay.

In 1548, she was married to Antoine de Bourbon, and in 1555, on the death of her father, she took the name of Queen of Navarre. Jeanne d'Albret was more slow than her husband to embrace the Reformed faith; she only resolved upon it in 1560; but she was invariably faithful to it; and when Catherine de Medici counselled her to accommodate herself to the changing humor of the King of Navarre, she made this reply, which breathes the fervor of new converts: "Madame, sooner than ever go to mass, if I had my kingdom and my son in my hand, I would hurl them both to the bottom of the sea before they should change my purpose."

At the moment of departing for Béarn, she embraced her son Henry; bathed him with her tears, and besought him to hold fast the faith in which he had been brought up. Henry IV. was one day to forget the tears and adieus of his mother.

On her return to her native land, Jeanne d'Albret, engaging in the work of Margaret of Valois, opened schools, colleges, hospitals,

and published a new code, a precious monument of her good sense and sagacity, which bears the name of *stil de la reine Jehanne*. There were soon no more mendicants in the Béarn. The children of the poor, who showed an aptitude for science and letters, were instructed at the expense of the treasury. Intoxication, usury, games of chance, were severely prohibited. All the arts flourished with the new faith; and even to this day, at the end of three centuries, the people of the Béarn pronounce only with a pious tenderness the name of the *good queen*, who so greatly increased the prosperity of their country.

Jeanne d'Albret had many struggles to endure and perils to brave. The Cardinal d'Armagnac reproached her, in the name of the Pope, with having introduced into her dominions a heresy which had committed so many excesses. "You make me blush for you," she replied to him: "take away the beam from your own eye, that you may see the mote in your neighbor's; cleanse the earth from the innocent blood that your party have poured out."

In 1563, Pius IV. summoned the Queen of Navarre to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition within six months, under pain of the loss of her crown and her possessions. Jeanne d'Albret complained to all the sovereigns of Europe; and Charles IX., on the advice of the Chancellor L'Hospital, made it known to the Pontiff that he was much offended at this attempt to take away a subject and vassal of the crown of France from her rightful judges. The Pope recoiled. Once more the times of Gregory VII. had gone by forever.

Escaped from this peril, Jeanne d'Albret ran into another. The historian De Thou relates, that the project had been conceived, at the Court of Madrid, of seizing her, with her children, to deliver her to the Spanish Inquisition. The very wife of Philip II., Elizabeth, a daughter of France, informed her relation of it, and the plot miscarried.

If Jeanne d'Albret could have moved on a broader theatre, she would have been, perhaps, the first woman of her century. "She was," says the Abbé le Laboureur, in his notes upon the *Memoirs of Castlenau*, "the most sagacious, the most generous, the most learned princess of her times, having in her heart the source of all virtues, and all great qualities." Agrippa d'Aubigné says also: "She had nothing of woman but her sex, a soul formed for masculine duties, a mind powerful in great affairs, and a heart invincible to great adversities."

What Henry IV. had that was excellent—his chivalric character, his generosity, his love of the people—he inherited from his noble mother, and France should always associate with the name of her most popular king that of Jeanne d'Albret.

V.

The defection of the King of Navarre, supported by the triumvirate, produced the fruits which the Catholic party expected. Coligny and his brothers, seeing that they were treated with distrust, left the court. The Prince of Condé, whom they affected to set aside, established himself at Paris; and the Guises had a free field for the commission of those acts which, in more peaceful times, would have been qualified as high treason of the first rank. They concluded an alliance with the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, and engaged to open to them the gates of the kingdom for the extermination of heretics. At the same time they put at defiance the Edict of January at the point of the sword, in the massacre of Vassy.

Vassy was a little fortified town in the county of Champagne. It contained about three thousand inhabitants, a third of whom, without counting the neighboring villages, made a profession of

the Reformed faith. This changing of religion irritated the Lorraines, who were established near by, in their domain of Joinville, and particularly a very aged lady, the duchess dowager of Guise, who could not comprehend why they had not already made an end of all the Huguenots. She pretended that the inhabitants of Vassy had not the right, as vassals of her granddaughter, Mary Stuart, to adopt, without her permission, a new religion. She menaced them with a terrible vengeance, and they paying no attention to it, she invited her son, the duke, Francis de Guise, to make a striking example of these insolent wretches.

The 28th of February, 1562, having received from the King of Navarre an invitation to return to Paris to suppress the Huguenots, the Duke departed from the Château de Joinville with an escort of several noblemen, and two hundred cavalry. On reaching, the next morning, Brousseval, a village situated a quarter of a league from Vassy, he heard the sound of bells. "What is that?" asked he of one of his attendants. "It is the preaching of the Huguenots." "By the Death of God," exclaims the Duke, "we will hugenote them very soon in a different style."

On Sunday, the 1st of March, while entering Vassy, he was joined by sixty horsemen and archers. He halted before the market, and sent for the prior and the provost, both great enemies of the new doctrine. Meanwhile the Protestants assembled, to the number of about twelve hundred, in a barn, to celebrate their worship under the protection of the Edict of January. None of them were armed, with the exception of two foreigners, probably soldiers, who had their swords.

The soldiers of the Duke, leading the van, approached the barn, and began to cry, *Dieux nous aide, dieux nous aide* against the king and God. The minister hastened to close the doors: but their confusion, hearing them their horses, exclaimed, *ALL HAIL BY*

God's death, kill these Huguenots! The first one they encounter is a poor crier of wine. "In whom do you believe?" "I believe in Jesus Christ," replied this man, and a blow of a pike fells him to the ground. Two others are killed near the door, and from without they shoot with arquebuses those who showed themselves at the openings of the barn. The Calvinists had piled together stones to defend themselves.

At the noise of this tumult, Guise throws himself into the *mêlée*. On arriving, he receives a blow from a stone in his face, and his blood flows. The rage of his men is redoubled, and he is master of himself no longer. There is no pity for sex, or for age;—a horrible butchery begins. Some, on their knees with clasped hands, ask mercy in the name of Jesus Christ. They replied: "Call upon your Christ! Where is he now?" Others raise up the roof, and attempt to escape by the walls of the town. These they kill by balls from the arquebuses, says an old historian, as they would pigeons on a roof.

The pastor, Leonard Morel, was kneeling in his pulpit, calling on God for mercy. They shoot at him; he tries to save himself; but near the door he falls over a dead body, and receives the blows of a sword on his right shoulder and on his head. Supposing himself mortally wounded, he cries out: "Lord, I commit my soul into thy hands, for thou hast redeemed me."

Two noblemen, who were present, say: "It is the minister; let us take him to M. de Guise." They carry him, for he could not walk, and the Duke says to him: "Minister, come here; are you the minister of these? Who made you so bold in seducing this people?" "I am no seducer," says Morel, "I have preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ." "God's death!" replies the Duke, "does the Gospel preach sedition? You are the cause of the death of all these people; you shall be hanged at once. Here, provost, order a gibbet to be erected to hang him." Happily,

among hundreds of butchers, he found no one who was willing to act as executioner. Morel was detained under strong guard, and this delay saved him.

Sixty corpses remained on the place of butchery, and two hundred others were wounded, some mortally. They stripped the dead, and some days after, the lackeys of the Duke made a public exhibition of these objects, crying, with a loud voice, says Crespin, like a bailiff who had seized furniture on an execution.

During the massacre, the Bible of the Calvinists was carried to the Duke. He gave it to his brother, Cardinal Louis de Guise, who was standing upon the walls of the cemetery. "Take it," said he, "behold the titles of the books of these Huguenots. . . ." "There is nothing bad in these, they are the Holy Scriptures," replied the Cardinal. . . . "How, O blood of God, the Holy Scripture? Fifteen hundred years and more this book has been completed, and only one year has it been printed. By the dead Christ, all is useless." The Cardinal could not keep from saying: "My brother is wrong."

This incident is not unworthy of history; it shows at once how gross and profound was the ignorance, in the matter of religion, of the principal defender of the Roman Church in our country.

The Duke walked back and forth, biting his beard, which was his sign of violent rage. He ordered the judge of the place into his presence, and reproached him for having suffered these conventicles. The judge alleged the Edict of January. "The Edict of January," said Guise, placing his hand on the hilt of his sword; "the edge of this iron shall soon sever that Edict, so strongly bound."

The next day, at Eclairon, his informers informed him that the Huguenots of Vassy had sent complaints to the king. "Let them go," said he, with disdain; "they will find neither their Admiral nor their Chancellor."

Reflection, however, convinced him that it was no small affair to have authorized this butchery in profound peace, and he sent an attorney to Vassy to commence an appearance of inquest. They invented the story that the Huguenots had been the aggressors, as if it was not extravagantly improbable that men without arms, assembled around a pulpit, with women and children, would have first attacked the numerous escort of Francis de Guise!

The following year, on his death-bed, the Duke declared that he had neither premeditated nor ordered the massacre of Vassy. We are willing to believe him upon his word, notwithstanding the decisive remarks of Bayle; it would be painful for us to see an ignoble chief of assassins in the defender of Metz, the victor of Renty, the noble and valiant captain. But had he not a design fully matured of committing, at least, some acts of violence against the Huguenots of Vassy? And what did he do to prevent the massacre? Was he a man to be disobeyed? Towards the close of the affair, he ordered, upon the request of the Duchesse de Guise, the pregnant women to be spared, and none else. Besides, did he punish, did he disavow any of the murderers? Let, then, the want of premeditation be granted, if men will; but the consent of Guise to the massacre in the very moment of its occurrence, never. The blood of Vassy is on his head; he has been punished for it, himself and his son, and his family. "They that take up the sword shall perish by the sword."

The news of the massacre of Vassy produced, in the whole kingdom, an extraordinary impression; it roused in all the Reformed people indignation and horror. It was no more the crime of a vile populace led on by some priests or abject monks. It was one of the greatest lords of France who had, despite the laws, poured out in torrents the blood of the faithful. If this massacre remained unpunished, what would become

of justice! And who could be certain that he would not be butchered!

At Paris the agitation was so great, that they feared an immediate rush to arms, and Marshal de Montmorency, the governor of the city, invited the faithful to suspend their assemblies. But they replied, that this would be to give advantage to the cause of their enemies, and to acknowledge that there was in the kingdom a power superior to that of the laws. They confined themselves to a simple request for assistance from the marshal for the observance of the edicts.

The Prince of Condé, and the principal members of the Protestant party, addressed themselves to Catherine de Medici. They set before her eyes the insolence of the Triumvirate, the league of the Lorraine princes with the King of Spain, the increasing audacity of their enterprises, the dangers which threatened the royal authority, and declared that they were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives for the cause of the throne, which allied itself now to that of the Protestant faith. Catherine made use of her ordinary dissimulation, gave evasive replies, and attempted to penetrate into the secrets of the Calvinists, in order to use her influence, according to circumstances, for or against them.

The Consistory of Paris decided that they would exhaust all the resources of justice before opposing force to force, and sent Theodore de Bèze to the court to demand the severe punishment of the murderers. The King of Navarre, being present at the audience, and wishing to give his new allies pledges, exclaimed: "They have hurled stones at my brother, the Duke of Guise; nothing was able to restrain the fury of his soldiers; and know you well that whoever touches him with his finger's end, touches my entire body." "Sire," replied Bèze to him, "it certainly becomes the Church of God, in whose name I speak, to endure

blows, and not to strike them ; but may it please you also to remember, that it is an anvil which has worn out many hammers."

Theodore de Bèze spoke the truth. Antoine de Bourbon and his companions have fallen ; the persecutors sleep in the depth of their sepulchre, and the French Reformation still exists.

VI.

We come to the wars of religion. The history of the Protestants mingles here with the general history of France ; and as it is related in numberless writings which are in the hands of all, we shall give only a rapid summary of the principal facts, confining ourselves particularly to what may serve to exhibit the internal life of the oppressed party.

The Duke of Guise made a triumphal entry into Paris. The priests crowd back the multitude as the man of Vassy goes by, comparing him with Judas Maccabæus, and bestowing on him the glorious name of *defender of the faith*. Catherine de Medici was hurt at this triumph in her pride as mother, and in her rights as regent ; but the Duke did not leave her time to league herself with the Calvinists. Encouraged by the support of the King of Navarre, Anne de Montmorency, and the Marshal de St. André, he took Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici, and conveyed them from Fontainebleau to Melun, from Melun to Vincennes, and from Vincennes to Paris. These were the 5th and 6th days of the October of the Triumvirate.

No one longer knew where was the legitimate authority. Sovereignty floated at hazard. The Protestants were, to some degree, placed without the law by the daring attempts of that man who had just massacred their brethren, and they found them-

selves in a situation demanding personal defence. So, from one end of France to the other, without previous agreement, they threw themselves upon their arms, as when one finds his house forced at night by a band of brigands.

"It is forever to be noted," says an historian of the sixteenth century, "that as long as the Protestants have died under the form of justice, unjust and cruel as this might be, they have bent their necks, and never appealed to arms. But when the public authority, the magistracy, tired of burning, have thrown the knife into the hands of the people, and by the tumults and great massacres of France, have taken off the venerable countenance of justice, and made them die, neighbor by neighbor, under the sound of trumpets and drums, who could forbid the miserable ones from opposing arms to arms, sword to sword, and from catching of a fury without justice the contagion of a just indignation? . . . Let foreign nations judge which of the two have the guilt of war upon their head!"¹

The queen-mother appeared to authorize the taking of arms by the Huguenots, and even to solicit it in the name of Charles IX. "My cousin," wrote she to the Prince of Condé, "you will remember to take care of the children, the mother, and the kingdom; as one whom it concerns, and who may be assured of never being forgotten. If I die before I have the means to acknowledge this service, as I desire to do, I will leave directions with my children. I see so many things which displease me, that were it not for the confidence I have in you, that you will aid me in preserving this kingdom, and the right of the king my son, in spite of those who wish to destroy every thing, I should be still more disheartened." These letters, communicated to the Protestant nobles, strengthened them in their

¹ Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Hist. universelle*.

projects ; they believed they should defend not only their own cause, but that of royalty.

On both sides the foreigner was called into the kingdom. The Catholics first set the example ; the Pontiff of Rome preached in Italy and in Spain a crusade like that of Simon de Montfort against the Albigenses, and the Huguenots claimed in their turn the support of Protestant nations. Some were ranged under one banner, some under another : Spaniards, Swiss, Germans, and English. It will always be thus in the great wars of religious and political principles. They separated then, not from people to people, but from belief to belief, because the question concerned something which extended beyond nationality itself, and because a native country is dear only so far as it realizes the high convictions which have possession of the soul. If there should burst forth to-morrow in Europe a great struggle upon the fundamental maxims of politics, what was seen in the sixteenth century would return ; it would only be necessary to change the devices, banners, and the word of battle to the combatants.

Each party published long manifestoes, a thing which is still inevitable in a war of principles. The Calvinists demanded the strict execution of the Edict of January, the liberation of the king and the queen-mother, whom they declared captives, the punishment of the authors of the massacre of Vassy, or, at least, the retirement of the Duke of Guise, and the two other triumvirs, to their *châteaux*. The Catholics responded, in respect to the Edict of January, with equivocal phrases ; to the demand for the liberation of the king and the queen, that they were perfectly free ; to the punishment of the authors of the affair of Vassy, that there was no person to punish ; and upon the retirement of the personages of the Triumvirate, that their presence was necessary to the public good.

The most remarkable part of these preliminary debates was

the act of association concluded between the Prince of Condé and the Calvinistic lords, the 11th of April, 1562, after the celebration of the Lord's Supper. All protested that they had before their eyes, in this alliance, only the honor of God, the deliverance of the king and queen, the maintenance of the edicts, and the punishment of those who had violated them. They solemnly swore to prevent blasphemies, violence, pillage, sacking, all that is forbidden by the law of God, and to appoint good and faithful ministers, who should teach them to do his will. They appointed, as chief and conductor of their enterprise, the Prince of Condé, as being of royal blood, and protector of the crown of France. They promised, in fine, on their part, by their hope of eternal happiness, that they would perform their duty with entire fidelity.

Their first attempts with arms were fortunate. Orleans, Tours, Bourges, Poitiers, Rouen, Havre, Lyons, Montauban, Nismes, and most of the fortified castles of Normandy, the Poitou, the Saintonge, Guyenne, Languedoc, and Dauphiny, fell into their power, almost without striking a blow, before the end of the month of April.

The Triumvirate, on their part, acted with energy. They dictated at their pleasure the resolutions of the council, and the decrees of parliament. They undertook especially to bind without reserve the people of Paris to their own fortune. The Catholic *bourgeois* were armed and enrolled as soldiers. They counted on fifty thousand men at the first sound of the *tocsin*. The corporation, or the Common Council of the city, were held in readiness. Chains were placed at the corners of the streets for barricades, in case of attack. Certificates of Catholicism were requested from all the *procureurs*, receivers, *quarteniers*, the police of the city, and other public officers. The churches were the *clubs* of the time; they were still more so under the League.

The Huguenots received orders to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, under pain of death. The infamous accusations of preceding years had been revived against them. Disgraceful prints were constantly circulating, in which the heretics were represented as tearing out the entrails of the monks, and throwing the consecrated wafers to the swine. The fanaticism of the populace was inflamed by these provocations to the blindest fury, and it was enough for one to be called a Huguenot, in passing the street, to be assassinated. Bèze cites numerous examples of this.

The triumvirs and the priests were not ignorant of what they were gaining in securing the support of this powerful city. "Paris," says the historian Davilar, "alone had more influence for its own party, than the half of the kingdom."¹

Coligny was conscious of this. He advised the Prince of Condé to march directly upon Paris, saying that the triumvirs had not yet an army, and that it would be easy to prevail over an undisciplined multitude. Condé refused. A brother of the King of Navarre, with the prospect of becoming lieutenant-general of the kingdom, he felt it necessary to act cautiously, even towards his most violent adversaries. A prince of the blood is not suitable for rightly conducting a party in the moments of crisis, when it is necessary to venture all to conquer all. Would the Puritans of England have triumphed, if they had chosen for a leader some member of the royal family instead of a man of such condition as Cromwell?

Catherine de Medici proposed to hold a conference with both parties—the only means for her to make some figure. In the conflicts of military men she had no more power; in negotiations, she counted upon her genius, and flattered herself with entangling equally in her intrigues the leaders of both Catholics and Protestants.

¹ T. I. p. 141.

A first conference was held the 2d of June, at Thoury, in the Beauce. It was agreed to appear with escorts of an equal number of gentlemen, who should keep themselves at the distance of eight hundred yards from each other. But while the chiefs were engaged in discussion, the noblemen approached, and felt their hearts touched with emotion. All at once old friendships are awakened ; quarrels of party are forgotten ; there are no longer Papists nor Huguenots ; and mingling their embraces and their tears, they remember only how they have passed their youthful years together, drank from the same cup, and slept under the same roof. Sacred instinct of the heart ! It inspired a better feeling than the science of theologians and the policy of statesmen.

The queen-mother had planned with the Bishop Montluc, her intimate counsellor, a singular expedient, that of engaging the leaders of both parties to submit themselves to a voluntary exile. The triumvirs should depart from the court ; the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and the principal Calvinists, should leave the kingdom, till the majority of Charles IX., and thus the religious differences could be reconciled. This project, renewed in a second conference, was only a stratagem of court, which could effect nothing.

Much time had been lost. The Calvinistic noblemen, who were obliged to maintain themselves from their own purse, began to return home, and the army of the triumvirs became strong. This was to be seen in the redoubling of the persecution. The Parliament of Paris decreed an ordinance, at the end of June, directing the Catholics to fall upon the heretics, and to kill them wherever they could find them, like mad dogs, and enemies of both God and men. Each Sunday the curates were to read at their service this terrible ordinance. The peasants, the laborers, armed themselves with whatever fell in their way, and scoured the

country, as if to free it from ferocious beasts. The monks called this, in their hideous language, *loosening the great blood-hound*.¹

A new decree of the parliament, passed the 18th of August, declared all the Calvinistic gentlemen, with the exception of the Prince of Condé, traitors to God and the king, and summoned them to appear in three days, in default of which they would be punished by the confiscation of their persons and their property.

It was then that the Reformers decided to urge D'Andelot to bring to their aid soldiers from Germany, and to conclude with Elizabeth, the Queen of England, a treaty, by which she engaged to furnish a succor of six thousand men ; three thousand were to enter at Havre-de-Grace, and three thousand to serve for the defence of Dieppe and Rouen, which were in the hands of Condé. The treaty was signed the 20th of September, 1562, and Queen Elizabeth published a manifesto, in which she declared, before God and men, that she had no other purpose than to defend the loyal subjects of King Charles IX., her brother, against the tyranny of their oppressors.

VII.

The Duke of Guise and his confederates hastened to besiege the city of Rouen. The Count de Montgomery, the same who had mortally wounded Henry II. in a tournament, commanded there, and he had with him a devoted population, and a strong garrison.

Between the besiegers and the besieged, one might mark a contrast which was to reproduce itself, eighty years after, between the Puritans of Cromwell and the royalist Cavaliers. In the Catholic army great license prevailed. Catherine de Med-

¹ Lâcher la grande lévrier.

ici, who had turned to the side of the strongest, had brought with her her ladies of honor. The trenches were opened with the music of serenades, and ladies of the court, making themselves judges of the camp, bestowed rewards upon the Cavaliers. In the interior of the city all was solemn and earnest. No games, no spectacles; sermons, prayers, the chanting of psalms, and after the religious duties, the females themselves went to fight by the side of their husbands on the ramparts.

After five weeks' siege, Rouen was taken by assault, and delivered for eight days to the fury of the soldiery. The parliament, which had retired to Louviers, completed the work by judicial murders. Several of the principal inhabitants were condemned to death; among others, John de Mandreville, president of the court of aids, and the pastor, Augustin Marlorat.

The latter had taken part in the Conference of Poissy. He had learning, piety, moderation of character, and was held in great esteem among the faithful. The Constable called Marlorat before him, and accused him of having seduced the people. "If I have seduced them," replied the minister of Christ, "God first seduced me; for I have preached to them only the pure Word of God." While they were dragging him upon a hurdle to the gibbet, he exhorted his companions in death to glorify the Lord till their last breath.

Antoine de Bourbon was mortally wounded during the siege, and the licentious passions he could not restrain hastened his end. After having received the sacrament, at the entreaty of a bishop of the court, he appeared, in his last moments, to return to the Reformed faith; for he asked his physician to read to him the Bible, and with eyes filled with tears, he supplicated pardon of God, declaring that if he could recover, he would cause the pure Gospel to be preached throughout the kingdom. But it was too late. Antoine de Bourbon died at the age of

forty-four years ; and the only funeral sermon which can be pronounced over him is that of Etienne Pasquier : "The King of Navarre died from a ball ; he is regretted by neither party."

The 19th of December was the battle of Dreux. The Calvinistic army numbered four thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry ; the Catholic army, sixteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. These forces were small for a contest involving such important results ; and still foreigners formed two-thirds of the troops of the Triumvirate, and half those of the Huguenots. But war was raging from one end of France to the other ; every province, every town, and, to some extent, every borough had its soldiers, and the troops encamped near Dreux formed but the smallest part of the combatants.

For more than two hours, the armies faced each other in gloomy suspense. Each thought in himself, as the brave Lanoue relates, that there were before him his relations, friends, and companions. But, at last, the battle began, and was continued seven hours with tremendous fury. Eight thousand dead were stretched upon the plain at the close of the day.

The Calvinists, at first, had the advantage, and some fugitives, having brought the report of it to Paris : "Well, then," said Catherine de Medici, tranquilly "we must hereafter pray to God in French."

But the Duke of Guise, charging with his reserve, changed the fate of the day. Coligny in vain attempted to bring his army to the charge ; he could only retire in good order. The commanders of both armies, the Prince of Condé and the Constable de Montmorency, were made prisoners. Marshal de St. André, one of the triumvirs, remained on the field of battle. "Die, traitor," said a Protestant officer, shattering his head with a ball of his pistol, "die, by the hand of a man whose possessions you have robbed."

Winter did not suspend hostilities. Coligny again took the field in upper and lower Normandy. The Duke of Guise set out to besiege Orleans, the principal seat of war, and the centre of the operations of the Calvinistic party. "This burrow, once taken, where the foxes have their home," said he, "they will soon be hotly hunted throughout France."

Already, in spite of the heroic defence of D'Andelot and of the bourgeois, two Faubourgs had been taken, and the tower on the bridge carried, when the Duke of Guise was wounded, in the evening of the 18th of February, 1563, by Jean Poltrot de Méré, who shot him with a pistol presented close to his breast. He died six days after, bitterly regretted by the Catholic party. They performed for him at Paris the funeral honors of a king, and Catherine de Medici affected great grief, which she did not feel.

Many historians, Mezeray among others, declare that, in his last moments, he counselled the queen-mother to make peace as soon as possible, adding, that whoever should prevent it, would be an enemy of the king and the State. This was to advise tolerance, since peace could be consolidated only on this condition. Did Francis de Guise better comprehend his duties at the hour of death than he had during the whole course of his life? Perhaps so. Ambition no more misled him, and the thought of the judgment of God inspired in him words of truth.

The murderer was a nobleman of Angoumois, then twenty-five or twenty-six years old. An ardent Catholic in his youth, Poltrot had served in Spain, and so adopted the language and manners of that country, that he had received the surname of *Espagnolet*. Having embraced the Reformed faith, he was obliged to fly to Geneva, and, after the example of many other noblemen, engaged in the business of an artisan to secure a living. His disposition became soured, his imagination feverishly excited. Having returned into France, he heard complaints against the

Duke of Guise resounding everywhere, while the Huguenots called him the *butcher of Vassy*, and the murder of the murderer of his brethren appeared to him to be an act of lawful retaliation. Deplorable effect of these wars of religion, which destroyed all correct ideas of justice, and depraved the souls of men ! Deep called unto deep.

The death of the Duke of Guise changed the face of affairs. Anne de Montmorency being a prisoner, there was no chief in the Catholic army of any renown, and Catherine de Medici resumed the negotiations which she had never completely abandoned. She attempted to seduce Condé by the promise of the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom. This prince, who had fallen into the hands of the Catholics at the battle of Dreux, lived for three months absent from the austere men of the Calvinistic party ; he *already respired*, says Mezeray, *the voluptuous air of the court and the seductive influences of its female society*. Won by the artifices of the queen, he asked permission to negotiate for a peace at Orleans.

Scarcely had he arrived, when he addressed these two questions to the pastors : Is it reasonable to continue the demand that the Edict of January shall be entirely re-established in all its articles ? Or, if we cannot obtain this, would it not be expedient to compromise with the queen in order to allay the troubles of the kingdom ? The pastors, seeing him falter, addressed him, to the number of seventy-two, a remonstrance in writing, demanding a free and protected exercise of religion, both in the places where it heretofore existed, and where it should be desired by the inhabitants.

The Prince obtained no encouragement, and despairing of surmounting the opposition of the ministers, he turned towards the nobles, whom he knew were tired of the war, and communicated to them certain clauses which accorded to the noblesse the

privileges of their religion. The body of pastors was neither heard nor received into this conference, and the majority of the nobles accepted the proposed articles.

The queen-mother urged the conclusion with earnestness; she feared to lose a single day, for she foresaw that if Admiral Coligny had time to arrive, the whole fabric of her intrigues would fall at a blow. So, immediately on the return of the Prince of Condé, she signed the articles, and this treaty, arranged under the form of an edict of pacification, was published at Amboise on the 19th of March, 1563.

It contained the following points: The free exercise of the Protestant religion in the towns which were in the hands of the Calvinists, from the 7th of March, 1563; permission to the lord high-justices to hold assemblies in the whole extent of their domains; permission to the nobles of the second rank to hold religious services in their houses, and only for the members of their households; finally, in each bailiwick, under the immediate jurisdiction of the parliaments, the granting of one place only for worship. To all the rest of the Reformers they allowed only domestic worship. "Each can live," said the treaty, "and live and dwell freely, in his own house, without being searched or molested, compelled or restrained, in the exercise of his conscience."

The articles of Amboise were certainly far from the Edict of January. Instead of a general right, they granted to the mass of the Protestants only the right of private conscience and the domestic fireside. The nobles alone, and the faithful who dwelt in the environs of a town or bailiwick, could still hold assemblies. It was inclosing the disciples of the Reformation, like the infected in a lazaretto.

When the Admiral learned the nature of the treaty, he burned with indignation. "This stroke of the pen," said he,

"ruins more churches than our enemies could have destroyed in ten years."

He returned to Orleans by forced marches, and arrived there the 23d of March, hoping still to find some means of obtaining better terms. He presented himself before the Council, and expressed to the Prince all his displeasure. He said that the affairs of the Protestants were in a good condition; that the two principal authors of the war were dead, and the third a prisoner; that in confining the liberty of assemblies to a town with a bailiwick, and to the high lords, they sacrificed the poor, who, nevertheless, had given examples to the rich; in fine, that the noblemen themselves, who should desire to do their duty, would soon experience the galling of the chains which they had voluntarily accepted.

This representation made so great an impression that many of those who had ranged themselves on the side of Condé would have been glad to see the edict revoked. But the Prince continually replied that he had received special promises, and that when he should be lieutenant-general of the kingdom, all would be well. Coligny was obliged to be resigned. They surrendered Orleans to the troops of the king, and the Huguenots aided in retaking Havre from the English.

Such was the end of the first war of religion, if this word may be employed for a simple suspension of arms, adopted by both parties, with mental reservations. No one was satisfied; no one could be. Ardent Catholics complained no less than the Protestants. Politicians could not comprehend these categories, in which they had granted to a few what was denied to the many. No principle had dictated the edict of pacification; and France, all bleeding, had not even time to place the first bandage on her deep wounds.

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VIII.

After tracing the general current of affairs, we should cast a glance over what was passing in the provinces. The war was not confined to the leaders of parties, or organized armies; it reproduced itself under a thousand forms throughout the kingdom. It was an immense and frightful struggle of province against province, of city against city; quarter against quarter, house against house, man with man. Never before was it seen so clearly, that of all wars, the worst are civil; and of all civil wars, the wars of religion.

The excesses of the revolutionary *régime* could give but a feeble idea of it. Fanaticism had made France a country of cannibals, and it would set at defiance the gloomiest imagination, to invent all the modes of refined tortures, revolting, execrable, or obscene, which were then practiced. But there is a great lesson to be learned from this spectacle—it is, that the principle of religious liberty is one of the most precious possessions of humanity.

We shall not undertake, however, to give a detailed account of these horrors. Theodore de Bèze has filled a volume with them. Jacques de Thou dedicated to them several books of his history. Crespin, Jean de Serres, the memoirs of Montluc, of Tavannes, of Condé, of Lanoue, and of fifty others, are filled with them. Whoever wishes to become acquainted with these details will find them in these works. Should we undertake this task, the pen would twenty times fall from our hand.

The Huguenots had, in the commencement of the campaign, observed a severe discipline. New crusaders, who had arisen at the call of their conscience, they desired to justify their arms

by the austerity of their life. There were no females in the camps ; no cards nor dice ; no blasphemy ; no disreputable conversation ; no marauding nor pillage. The nobility paid out of their own purse for all that they took for themselves and their people. Those guilty of violences were punished. A lord of Dammartin, having violated the daughter of a villager, with difficulty escaped with his life. Another was hung at Orleans for the crime of adultery, a thing which manifested more clearly than had ever been done before, the differences between their doctrine and that of the profligate court of Catherine de Medici.

Evening and morning, as the soldiers retired and arose, there were public prayers. The ministers, distributed by companies, maintained good order by their pious exhortations. A prayer has been preserved which was used in the army. The Calvinists addressed prayers to God for the king, the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, and the members of the Council.

There was the same discipline at Orleans. " Besides the ordinary exhortations and prayers among the soldiers of the guard," says Theodore de Bèze, " they attended general prayers, especially at six o'clock in the morning, at the close of which, ministers and all the people, without any exception, went to work upon the fortifications with all their power, each returning again, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to prayers ; and a place was also assigned for the reception of the wounded, who were very humanely treated by the most noble women of the city, sparing neither their purse nor their persons."¹

But this lasted only a few months ; Coligny had foreseen it. " It is truly a beautiful thing, this discipline, provided it lasts," said he, " but I fear these people are exhausting all their piety at once. I have commanded the infantry, and I know what it

¹ T. II. p. 162.

is ; it often illustrates the proverb which says : *From a young hermit an old devil.*"

Religious passions, joined to the want of money, compelled the Huguenots to appropriate the ornaments of the churches. They broke the sacred vases, mutilated the statues of the saints, and scattered the relics. These excesses produced in the heart of the Catholics a rage impossible to describe. "You break the images," said they ; "you destroy the relics of the departed ! Well ! we will demolish every living image that falls into our hands."

The arrests of the parliaments increased the popular fury, by giving it an appearance of justice. The peasant left his plough, the artisan his workshop. They formed from these vagrants, vagabonds, mendicants, volunteers, free companies, armed with sickles, knives, and pikes. They chose for captain an adventurer, a famous brigand, or even a monk, a curate, sometimes even a bishop ; and these bands, intoxicated with fanaticism and vengeance, regarded neither law, shame, nor mercy. In Champagne they received the name of the *barefooted* !

They attacked the Calvinists by surprise, massacred the men, violated the women, demolished the dwellings, tore up the vines, damaged the trees, and rendered entire cantons uninhabitable. "Indeed," exclaimed one of the chiefs of this phrensied rabble, "there are too many people in France ; I will kill enough to cheapen living."

The Huguenots, we may not doubt, used retaliation ; but being less numerous, and belonging in general to the more cultivated classes, did less evil than they received.

The excesses, everywhere very great, were particularly so on the south of the Loire, on account of the great number of the Protestants and the more ardent character of the population. At Cahors, five hundred Huguenots were attacked one Sunday,

as they were at their place of worship, and the Bishop Pierre Bertrandi commanded every soul to be butchered. At Montauban, the inhabitants left their city at the approach of the Catholic hordes; but having been massacred in crowds, the survivors re-entered within their walls, and sustained three sieges with heroic valor.

The events which took place at Toulouse, in the month of May, 1562, may serve to characterize what passed throughout the southern provinces.

That city then numbered twenty-five or thirty thousand Protestants, the most part bourgeois, merchants, professors of the university, literary men, students, magistrates. They had chosen municipal officers or *Capitouls*, of a spirit conformed to their own. "Toulouse," says an old chronicler, "was governed by a certain medley of *capitouls*, composed of three kinds:—Catholics, Huguenots, and temporizers; persons, however, of brilliant intellect,—adorned with many graces, rich and munificent; and, besides, a fourth part of them tinctured with the ancient heresy, (the Albigensian, probably,)—which had already taken strong root."¹

After the publication of the Edict of January, the Protestants had erected, without the gates of the city, a wooden church, which would hold five or six thousand persons. They resorted thither in open day, and the women showed no less zeal than the men. "They had parted with the prayer-books and rosaries, they formerly carried in the waist," says our chronicler, still further, "those inflated robes, *basquines*, and immodest dresses, dances, worldly songs, as if they had been filled with the Holy Spirit; which our preachers could not induce the Catholics to accomplish by all the holy admonitions they gave them."²

¹ *Histoire de M. G. Boquet sur les troubles advenus en la ville de Toulouse*, p. 25.

² P. 60.

The majority in parliament continued to protect the ancient worship; and the people, infuriated by the imprecations of the monks, assaulted the Calvinists on the slightest pretexts, and pillaged their houses. All was violence, disorder, anarchy.

Irritated to the extreme, and led on by some of their principal magistrates, the Protestants seized the City Hall, or Capitol, on the night of the 11th and 12th of May. Immediately the counsellors of the parliament pronounced a decree against the *Capitouls* who had been concerned in the affair, and sent to demand instant help from all the officers and nobles of the environs. They then presented themselves to the people in red robes, ordering the taking of arms and the seizure of the heretics, dead or alive. "Pillage, kill boldly, with the sanction of the Pope, the king, and the court," cried five or six phrensied counsellors, passing through the streets.

The struggle became terrible. The Calvinists who had not been able to take refuge in the Hôtel-de-Ville, were taken in their houses, hurled from the windows, thrown into the Garonne. Some wretched ones, whom the soldiers were conducting to prison, were massacred on the way, and woe to those who were well dressed! They presumed that every one who was not a laborer, member of parliament, monk or priest, must be a heretic.

Another fact characteristic of this struggle is, that the people, imagining all cultivation of the mind a beginning of heresy, assembled at first before the book-stores, and burnt on the public places all the books they contained. These ruffians, who could not read, believed that they were thus acting the part of good Catholics.

The tocsin sounded from all the churches, and for five or six leagues around. Some bands of peasants threw themselves into the city, drawn by the hope of pillage. The Calvinists, besieged

in the Capitol, had some cannon, and defended themselves, from Monday till Saturday, with the courage of despair.

At last, reduced to the last extremity, with nothing for the women and children to eat, nor powder to load their guns, and the people having built fires in the quarter near the Capitol, they asked them to come to a parley, crying out: *Vive la Croix! vive la Croix!* They promised the Protestants to spare their lives, on condition they would leave their arms and baggage in the City Hall. Before departing, they celebrated the Lord's Supper with many prayers and tears, and commenced, between eight and nine o'clock at night, to retire by the gate of Ville-neuve. But the laborers and peasants, whom the priests had taught that there is no obligation to keep faith with heretics, fell upon them, and it has been calculated that three thousand five hundred perished in these rencounters.

The parliament proceeded immediately to judicial executions. It first mutilated itself, by excluding twenty-two counsellors who, without being Huguenots, had permitted their wives or other members of their families to attend upon the preachings. The *Viguier* of the city, several *Capitouls*, and three hundred other heretics, were executed before the month of March, 1563. Four hundred persons were condemned to the same punishment for contumacy. The clergy had published a monitory, enjoining, under pain of excommunication and eternal damnation, the denouncing, not only of the heretics, but of those who had given them counsel, aid, or favor.

Now were enacted deeds of atrocious fanaticism. It is related, for example, that a youth of twelve or thirteen years, who had come from Montauban to Toulouse, was summoned to recite the *Ave Maria*. He replied that it had not been taught him, and on that alone they hung him to a gibbet.

In the midst of so many abominable butcheries, Blaise de

Montluc, and the Baron des Adrets had still the frightful honor of distinguishing themselves by their cruelties. The former, a rude and ignorant soldier, was the most ferocious of all the Catholic chiefs of the south. He seemed to enjoy, in these spectacles of blood, a fierce and insatiable delight; and he himself has related to us, in his *Commentaries*, with the greatest tranquillity of mind, all the executions he ordered. He constantly had two butchers following him, armed with axes well sharpened;—he called them his lackeys. He ordered the Huguenots to be hung or decapitated without trial; for *these people*, said he, *speak golden words*; and the roads along which he had passed were recognized by the dead bodies which hung from the trees. He did not neglect the care of his fortune, and knew how to gather gold in blood. “He who formerly was not rich,” says Brantôme, “found himself, at the end of the war, with a hundred thousand crowns.”¹ He obtained also for his exploits the baton of a Marshal of France.

But pitiless as he was, he once met men who surpassed him. These were Spaniards whom Philip II. sent to the assistance of the Catholic party. Having taken a little town of the Agenois, Montluc ordered his men to run the sword through all defenders of the castle, and sent back the women, and made them pass by a staircase cut into the thickness of the wall. The Spaniards, who were waiting for them in the court, butchered them all, with the little children they bore in their arms. When Montluc reproached them, they replied, with indifference: “We thought that these were all disguised Lutherans.”

The Baron des Adrets, who conducted the bands of the Huguenots, showed himself as barbarous as Montluc. He had embraced the new religion on account of a suit in which he accused

¹ T. II. p. 223.

the Duke of Guise of having occasioned him a loss. He spread terror in the Lyonnais, Dauphiny, Provence, and the canton of Avignon. But the leaders of the Calvinistic party soon manifested a shame and horror at his crimes, and sent Soubise to Lyons to restrain him. They took him prisoner at Valence, and he was not liberated till after the signing of the peace, which produced in him so bitter a resentment that he returned to the Roman communion, in which he died.

IX.

Catherine de Medici was very reluctant to give the Prince of Condé the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, which she had promised. She caused the majority of her son to be declared from the *lit de justice* held in the Parliament of Rouen; the 17th of August, 1563. Charles IX. was then only thirteen years and two months old. This prince was not destitute of natural ability; he loved learning, and under a better discipline, would have been qualified for wearing the crown with dignity. But his mother had taught him early to be deceitful, double-tongued, and distrustful. She had given him for a preceptor a native of her own city of Florence, Albert Gondi, afterwards called Marshal de Retz, who was, according to Brantôme, an ingenious, crafty, corrupt, treacherous man, a great dissembler, swearing and denying God, like a common soldier.

The Edict of Pacification was not carried out. Several parliaments would not consent to enregister it till after long resistance. The governors of the provinces widened or restricted its provisions at their pleasure; and the States of Burgundy, directed by the Duke d'Aumale, even dared to declare that they could no more suffer two religions than the sky could endure two suns.

In places where the Catholics were the strongest, they said that they were polluted by the vicinity of the heresy, and abandoned themselves to outrageous violences against the faithful who attended the assemblies. They penetrated even to the sanctuary of the fireside, maltreating those who chanted psalms, forcing the Huguenots to supply holy bread for the parish *masses*, and to give money for the *confréries* of the Church. And when the oppressed appealed to the ordinances, they replied by blows, sometimes by assassinations. More than three thousand among them perished by violent death after the signing of the treaty.

Where, on the other hand, the Calvinists were in the majority, they did not obey the Edict of Amboise, and they could not, had they wished it; for this treaty had been made more for the north than for the south of France. Let one picture to himself from fifty to a hundred thousand persons obliged to walk several leagues to celebrate their worship in a privileged town!

Catholics and Protestants did not associate together; they were encamped, the one party opposite the other, always ready with arms in their hands. The Catholics commenced from the year 1563, under the instigation of the cardinals and bishops, to form themselves into leagues, or special associations for the extirpation of heresy. They agreed to consecrate to this purpose, without reserve, their persons and their property. The Calvinists, on their side, had their fortified towns, their countersigns, their general orders, their plans of campaign. They formed two grand armies, which engaged in skirmishes at the outposts, awaiting the hour and the place of battle.

Catherine de Medici took Charles IX., in 1564, to travel through the provinces of his realm, to rekindle the affection of the Catholics, and intimidate the Huguenots. Arrived at Ronsillon, a little town in Dauphiny, she published, the 4th of August, a declaration *interpretative* of the Edict of Amboise. The

lord high-justices were no longer permitted to admit to their assemblies any but their own households, and their immediate vassals. The churches were forbidden to hold synods, and to make collections of money. The pastors had no more the right of leaving their place of residence, or of opening schools. The priests, monks, and nuns, who were married, were to separate themselves immediately from their consorts, or quit the kingdom with the shortest delay. They contracted the circle of iron which confined the Huguenots, till they were almost crushed.

The queen-mother had a conference at Bayonne, with the Duke of Albe, in the month of June, 1565. This interview has acquired celebrity, because the foundations of the St. Bartholomew, according to the testimony of several historians, were there laid. The ferocious ambassador of Philip II. said to Catherine that a sovereign could do nothing more destructive to his interests, or more shameful, than to grant his subjects liberty of conscience; and he counselled her to bring down the loftiest heads of the Huguenots, for then they would have light work of the remainder. "Ten thousand frogs," continued he, in his ignoble language, "are not worth the head of a salmon."

The assurance was given that the plot was to be executed, in 1566, in the session of the assembly of the Notables at Moulins. But Coligny and other chiefs came there well attended, and the work of blood was adjourned to a better occasion.

The court having secured the presence of six thousand Catholic soldiers from Switzerland, the Huguenots knew that they had every thing to fear, and the Prince of Condé held a council with the nobles of his party. The Admiral advised the council to have patience, and to wait till they were reduced to the last extremities. "I see well," said he, "how we shall kindle the fire, but I behold no water to extinguish it."

His brother, D'Andelot, held a different opinion. "If you

delay," said he, "till we have been banished to a foreign land, chained in prisons, persecuted by the people, despised by military men—of what service will have been our past patience and humility? What benefit will our innocence afford us? To whom shall we complain? And who will even be willing to hear us? They have already declared the war which has brought into our very midst six thousand foreign soldiers. If we give them still the advantage of striking the first blow, our wound will be without a remedy."

The Prince of Condé once more went to the queen, accompanied by the Admiral, to supplicate her to do better justice to the Protestants. They were coldly received. Seeing that their complaints were of no avail, they resolved to follow the example which had been given them five years before by the Duke of Guise, and to seize the young king, who was then at the Castle of Monceaux, in Brie, September, 1567.

But the plot was discovered, and the court fled precipitately to Meaux. The Chancellor L'Hospital, always favorable to measures of justice and moderation, proposed to dismiss the Swiss, to execute faithfully the Edict of Amboise, and promised that on these conditions the Huguenots would lay down their arms. "Ah! Monsieur Chancellor," said the queen, "are you willing to answer that they have no other end than the service of the king?" "Yes, madam," replied L'Hospital, "if I am assured that no one shall attempt to deceive them." But the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable opposed the idea of making any concession.

But it was necessary to gain time; for the Swiss were not yet arrived. Catherine amused the leaders of the Calvinists with negotiations; she sent to them Marshal de Montmorency, a man of the *Tiers-Etat* party. He was kindly received. The Protestants repeated to him the phrase which resounded in all their

grievances :—The free exercise of religion ! Meanwhile the Swiss arrived ; the conference was broken off, and the blow failed. A Catholic historian of our time is astonished at *the credulity of these noblemen of the country, ready to disperse on a simple promise*. It seems to us that this remark confers as much credit upon the good faith of the Calvinistic party as it detracts from that of the Catholic Court of Charles IX.

After this enterprise, nothing remained but to submit to the fortune of arms. Condé encamped in the suburbs of Paris with a thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The Constable offered him battle in the plain of St. Denis, the 10th of November, 1567. He had eighteen thousand infantry and three thousand horse ; but the latter were chiefly recruits from the Paris volunteers.

A multitude of curious people, and females dressed as Amazons, assembled to enjoy the combat. The monks distributed rosaries and chanted litanies. The action commenced towards the close of the day. At the first shock the Parisians, who were known by their ornamental dress and their shining armor, took to flight. The Constable defended himself vigorously with the Swiss and the cavalry. At the end of two hours the Huguenots retired in good order, without any one's daring to pursue them more than a quarter of a league from the field of battle.

Anne de Montmorency, covered with wounds, had been summoned to surrender by a Scotch gentleman. "Do you know me?" demanded the Constable. "It is because I know you," replied the other, "that I aim this at you;" firing a pistol which he held close to his breast. Montmorency, the last of the triumvirs, died a few days after. He received from Catherine de Medici only feigned tears, from the enthusiastic Catholics but a cold indifference, and from the Protestants, only legitimate resentments. The chance of birth had placed his fortune too high. In all his

great offices he lacked a quality for which nothing could atone—a comprehensive mind.

A man of sense, the Marshal of Vieilleville, pronounced a just judgment upon the battle of St. Denis. "It is not your majesty," said he to the king, "who has gained the battle, and it is still less the Prince of Condé." "And who then?" demanded Charles IX. "Sire, it is the King of Spain."

The next day the Protestant army appeared before the Faubourg of Paris, but no one came out to give them battle. They retired towards Lorraine, to meet some auxiliaries which Jean Casimir, the son of the Elector Palatine, had brought them. Both armies were united at Pont-à-Mousson, the 11th of January, 1568. A circumstance occurred at this place probably unparalleled in military annals. The Protestants from Germany demanded a hundred thousand crowns for pay still in arrears, and Condé had hardly two thousand. What should he do? To whom apply? Then it was that one army which received nothing taxed themselves to pay the other.

The historian, Jean de Serres, relates to us in lively terms this singular incident: "The Prince and the Admiral animated by their example the great, the middle class, and the common soldiers; the ministers, in their discourses, moved the men, and the captains prepared their companies. Each one contributed to make up the sum; one influenced another by zeal or love, one from fear, another from shame and from fear of reproach; they collected in money and in plate, chains of gold and rings, some eighty thousand francs, and by this voluntary liberality partially allayed the impatience of the hungry."

The war was rekindled throughout France. Montluc recommenced his career in the Gavenne and the Saintonge, and after

having been repulsed before the walls of La Rochelle, he pierced with the sword almost all the Calvinistic population of the Isle of Ré. An army of seven thousand Huguenots passed through Gascony, the Quercy, and the Languedoc, and crossed the whole kingdom even to Orleans. They were called *the army of the viscounts*, because their chiefs were the Viscounts of Montclar, Bruniquel, Caumont, Rapin, and other nobles.

The towns of Montauban, Nismes, Castres, Montpellier, Usès, either remained or fell into the power of the Calvinists, who were there in controlling numbers. At Nismes, from the beginning of the war, the Huguenot populace had committed, notwithstanding the exhortations of the pastors and notables, the horrid massacre of seventy-two prisoners. The next day, forty-eight other Catholics were immolated in the country. This crime bore the name of *Michelade*, because it took place on the day of St. Michael, 1567.

The Prince of Condé started with his forces on an expedition through Burgundy, Champagne, Beauce, and halted to besiege Chartres, one of the granaries of Paris. The affairs of the Huguenots took a favorable turn. The queen-mother, who had a custom of saying that, with three sheets of paper and her tongue, she could do more than all the soldiers with their lances, now recommenced negotiations. The Calvinist chiefs, who had learned to their cost what the word of Catherine was worth, wanted guarantees. But the queen spread the report through the army that the Edict of Pacification should permanently be re-established, without interpretation or reserve, that a full amnesty would be given to all who had taken arms, and that the chiefs alone, from their ambition, refused so equitable an arrangement.

This artifice succeeded. Entire companies of Calvinists, without the permission of their leaders, returned to their homes; and the Prince of Condé, seeing his army melting away, signed, on

the 20th of March, 1568, the treaty of Longjumeau. It was called *la paix boiteuse et mal assise*, because of the two negotiators of the queen, the one was lord of Malassise, and the other a cripple. The French are fond of a joke on all occasions; but this time they had no reason for it. "This peace left the Huguenots," says Mezeray, "at the mercy of their enemies, with no other surety than the word of an Italian woman."¹

X.

The treaty of Longjumeau lasted only six months, or rather, it existed at all, only on paper. While the Calvinists were sending home their foreign troops, Catherine de Medici retained her own. She stationed them in the fortified places, to protect the bridges and passes, and took every means to crush the Huguenots.

The Catholic pulpits resounded with imprecations and anathemas against them. "They boldly advanced," says the Abbé Anquetil, "these abominable maxims, that no faith is to be kept with heretics, and that it is an action just, pious, and necessary for safety, to massacre them. The fruits of these discourses were either public disturbances or assassinations, for which no redress could be obtained."²

There is a kind of frightful monotony in these scenes of murder which rendered peace as bloody as war. Lyons, Bourges, Troyes, Auxerre, Issoudun, Rouen, Amiens, and other cities were strewn with the corpses of Huguenots. Nearly ten thousand perished in three months. At Orleans two hundred were in the prisons. The populace set them on fire, and drove back into the flames,

¹ T. V. p. 104.

² *Esprit de la ligne*, t. I. p. 242.

with pikes and halberds, the victims who endeavored to escape; "some of whom," says Crespin, "were seen clasping their hands in the fire, and heard invoking the Lord with a loud voice."¹

Chancellor L'Hospital made bitter complaints against the impunity granted to the butchers; but he was not heard; and convinced that he could no longer serve the State, retired to his estate of Vignay. Catherine de Medici gave the seals to the Bishop Jean de Morvilliers, a creature of the Cardinal de Lorraine. Marshal de Montmorency, suspected of moderation and humanity, was also removed from his government of Paris.

Even the sacred rites, which savages blush to infringe, were no longer regarded. The Baron Philibert de Rapine, *maître d'hôtel* of the Prince of Condé, having been sent into Languedoc with a safe conduct of the king to carry thither the treaty of peace, was apprehended by order of the Parliament of Toulouse, and three days after beheaded.

Condé, Coligny, and D'Andelot, threatened with ruin and death, fled to La Rochelle. They departed from the Château de Noyers in Burgundy at midnight, with their wives and children, on the 25th of August, 1568, and travelled a hundred leagues in twenty-four days through bands of enemies.

The Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, joined them with four thousand men. As many came from Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. The most distinguished captains of the party flocked round them with their companies, so that these fugitives of the day previous now found themselves at the head of the strongest army they had yet commanded, and Coligny repeated the saying of Themistocles: "My friends, we should have perished, if we had not been lost." Thus commenced the third war of religion.

¹ P. 700.

Catherine de Medici published decrees which abolished the Edict of January; prohibited, under pain of death, the exercise of the pretended Reformed religion; and ordered all ministers to quit the kingdom within fifteen days. At the same time the Duke d'Anjou, the younger brother of Charles IX. and the favorite son of Catherine, known afterwards under the name of Henry III., was placed at the head of the Catholic army. But though he had under his orders twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse, he did not dare to offer battle. The very severe winter of 1568 and 1569 was spent in marches and countermarches, without any thing decisive.

The 16th of March following, the two armies met at Jarnac. This was less a battle than a surprise. The different *corps* of the Calvinists came up separately into line, and one by one were cut to pieces. The Prince of Condé performed prodigies of valor; but being thrown from his horse, and bearing his arm in a sling from the commencement of the affair, he surrendered himself to a Catholic noble. At the same instant Montesquieu, one of the officers of the Duke d'Anjou, running up behind, shot him in the head with a pistol. "This act, which in the *mêlée* had passed for an honorable deed of arms," says Mezeray, "having been executed with perfect *sang-froid*, was judged by honest men an execrable murder."¹ The Duke d'Anjou dragged the dead body of Condé upon an ass, joining himself in the infamous ribaldry of the soldiers, and wished to raise on the spot where the Prince had been assassinated, a triumphal column. He acted like a worthy son of Queen Catherine.

The news of the death of Condé and of the victory of Jarnac excited transports of joy among the Catholics, and

¹ T. V. p. 117.

Charles IX. sent to the Pope the standards taken from the Huguenots.

Michael Ghisleri then occupied the pontifical throne, under the name of Pius V. Having entered a convent of the Dominicans at the age of fifteen, and afterwards charged with the office of Inquisitor-general in the *Milanese*, from which he was expelled in consequence of his implacable severity, he only knew Luther as a ferocious beast, (*bellua*), and saw in heresy the sum of all crimes. His letters were printed at Anvers in 1640; they are a monument of furious folly against the heretics. Pius V. wrote to Charles IX. to be deaf to all entreaty, to break every tie of blood and affection, to extirpate the roots of heresy, even to the last fibres. He cited to him the example of Saul beating the Amalekites to death, and represented all tendency towards clemency as a snare of the devil. Before such moral aberrations it is impossible to be indignant; one feels overcome by a deep and melancholy compassion.

Pius V. and Charles IX. were too hasty in regarding the position of the Huguenots as desperate. Coligny remained. He was seconded by Jeanne d'Albret, who, holding by the hand her son, Henry Béarn, aged then fifteen years, and her nephew Henry, son of the Prince of Condé, came to Saintes to offer them to the *cause*, to use the expression then common among the Calvinists, and supplicated God not to allow them to fail in their duty. The young Béarnese was proclaimed generalissimo and *protector* of the churches. "I swear," said he, "to defend religion, and to persevere in the common cause, till death or victory has secured for all the liberty which we desire."

The 23d of June, 1569, Coligny obtained an advantage in the battle of Roche-Abeille; but he suffered great losses in the siege of Poitiers, which he was constrained to undertake on the urgent entreaties of the nobles of the district. The 3d of October follow-

ing he was beaten at Moncontour. The German soldiers had mutinied, and the Admiral could not retire before the enemy, as he had designed. The combat lasted only three quarters of an hour, but the disaster was terrible. Of twenty-five thousand combatants, there remained only six or eight thousand under his banner. Munitions, cannon, baggage—all was lost. Entire companies were put to the sword. The lansquenets asked for mercy, exclaiming: *Bon papiste, bon papiste, moi!* but none were spared.

Coligny had received three wounds at the beginning of the action, and the blood which ran under his helmet choked him. They were obliged to bear him from the field of battle. At evening, some officers proposed to him to embark: he renewed their courage by his calm and decided words. Never was Coligny nobler than in misfortune, because he had calculated it in advance of all his attendants.

Again we behold a characteristic of the times, which should be noticed. "As they were bearing the Admiral in a litter," says Agrippa d'Aubigné, "Lestrange, an aged gentleman and one of his principal counsellors, travelling in the same equipage, and wounded, came some distance in his litter ahead of Coligny's. Putting his head out of the door, he gazed steadily on his chief, and drew back with tearful eyes, uttering these words: *It is sweet to trust in God!* They then bade each other adieu, with the same thoughts, but without power to say more. This great captain confessed to his intimate companions that this brief word of his friend revived him, and inspired him with good thoughts and strong resolutions for the future."¹

Every misfortune now seemed to burst upon Coligny. He had lost his brother D'Andelot. The Parliament of Paris declared

¹ L. V. c. 18.

him guilty of high treason and felony; authorizing any one to hunt him down, with the promise of fifty thousand crowns to whoever delivered him up, dead or alive; and, in fact, he was exposed to several attempts at assassination. Bands of wretches had burnt his castle, and laid waste his estate. At last, as if to crush him with a final blow, Pius V. addressed letters to the king and the queen-mother, in which he called him a *detestable, infamous, execrable man, if indeed he even merited the name of man*.

Behold, then, this illustrious and persecuted man, placed beyond the social law by the government of his country, and in some sense beyond all law, human or divine, by the head of Catholicism! He is covered with wounds, devoured with fever, robbed of all he possessed in the world, with mutinying mercenaries, a shattered army, abandoned by many of his friends, censured by a great number, having to combat adversaries without faith or mercy. Well! Read now the letter, so pious and so calm, which he wrote to his children, the 16th of October, 1569, thirteen days after the disaster of Moncontour; it is one of the beautiful pages in the history of humanity.

“We should not repose on what is called possessions; but rather place our hope beyond the earth, and acquire other treasures than those which we see with our eyes and touch with our hands. We must follow Jesus Christ, our leader, who has gone before us. Men have ravished us of what they could; and if such is always the will of God, we shall be happy, and our condition good, since we endure this loss from no wrong you have done those who have brought it to you, but solely for the hate they have borne me because God was pleased to direct me to assist his Church. For the present it is enough for me to admonish and conjure you, in the name of God, to persevere courageously in the study of virtue.”

Coligny did not content himself with writing only; he created a

new army. At his voice, from all the mountains of the Béarn, the Cevennes, the Dauphiny, the Vivarais, the County de Foix, descended high-spirited nobles and warlike peasants, who promised to defend even to the death their faith and their liberty. He traversed the half of France, passed the Loire, defeated the Catholics near D'Arnay-le-Duc, and marched towards Paris, declaring that the Parisians would be inclined to peace when they saw the war at their gates.

The court was seized with astonishment and consternation, on finding Coligny at the head of a third army, as strong as those he had lost, and better disciplined. So once more they offered conditions of peace, and the treaty was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye, the 8th of August, 1570. It was more favorable to the Reformers than the preceding. It gave them liberty of worship in all the places then in their possession, besides two towns in each province to celebrate divine service; amnesty for the past, equal right of admission to public offices, permission to reside in any part of the kingdom without molestation on account of their religion, and four cities as hostages—La Rochelle, La Charité, Cognac, and Montauban.

Queen Catherine showed herself generous. The Catholic historian Davila, who was well acquainted with the secrets of this court, declares that there was an understanding between the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke d'Anjou, in reference to the projected massacre which was executed at St. Bartholomew. "They resolved," says he, "to renew the project already formed so many times, and so often abandoned, of delivering the kingdom from the burden of foreign troops, and afterwards of employing artifice to make way with the chiefs, hoping that the party would submit when deprived of their support."

¹ T. I. p. 383.

The Admiral, who had no suspicions, signed the peace with joy. "Sooner than fall back into these disturbances," said he, "I would choose to die a thousand deaths, and be dragged through the streets of Paris." He was thus dragged, indeed; but the disturbances, far from ceasing, recommenced with fury, and continued for twenty-five years longer.

XI.

This is the proper place to indicate the changes which were accomplished during the wars of religion, both in the position and character of the Protestants, and in their relations with the Catholics.

Although they were still numerous on the south of the Loire, they had lost much ground. Paris belonged henceforth, without division, to the Roman Church. Picardy, Artois, Normandy, Orléanais, Champagne, all the northern and a considerable portion of the centre of France, reckoned now only scattered and fearful flocks. The bravest had perished; the most timid had entered the dominant communion. Many of those who were in the public employment, many gentlemen and rich bourgeois, had done likewise. The women also, to escape the brutal violence to which they were exposed, took refuge in great numbers in Catholicism, as the last asylum for their chastity.

Another change equally important should be noticed. At the States-General of Orleans, and at the Conference of Poissy, the Reformers had hoped to win over the masses, the parliament, royalty itself: in 1570, they hoped no longer. Every man had chosen decidedly one Church or the other: opinions were boldly avowed and consolidated: the floating population had disappeared.

Before the wars, proselytism was general, and embraced towns and even entire provinces : there was sufficient peace and liberty : afterwards, there were but few proselytes, converted one by one, and with great difficulty. So many dead bodies were there, piled up between the two communions ! so many bitter enmities, so many dreadful souvenirs crowded around both camps to forbid an approach !

The destiny of the Reformers of France was truly strange and deplorable. If they had not resorted to arms, they would probably have been exterminated like the Albigenes. In resorting to them, they kindled the most burning hate, and opened an abyss which separated the Catholics from them forever.

But even these calamities had become the source of good to both communions. The Reformers had been taught by misfortune. They comprehended and proclaimed now, the possibility of two forms of religion existing in the same State. Submitting to be only a minority, they cited in their new writings the arrangements concluded in Germany between the rival Churches, and even the tolerance of the Jews by the Pope, and of the Turks towards the Christians. They were no more ambitious of domination ; they demanded only the right of living, and Catholicism could have accorded it without danger to its ancient prerogatives.

An esteemed modern historian says, on this subject : "The experience of the edicts of tolerance during the peace, and the common efforts of both parties during the war, had destroyed in them (the Reformers) many illusions respecting their strength. They no longer believed themselves the most numerous, and that fear alone confined the masses in an apparent conformity with the Roman Church. They had been able to convince themselves, on the contrary, that those progressive opinions, which

demanded the exercise of intellect and discrimination, could prevail only among the élite of the nation."¹

It is then a grave error to allege, for the justification of the St. Bartholomew, a religious or political necessity. Rome had nothing more to fear in France for her supremacy, nor the crown for the maintenance of its political power. It was the fanaticism, the resentment of past struggles, which crushed the minority in 1572: it was no motive of State.

The piety and morals of the Reformers had also suffered much from the calamities of the times. Without having descended to the hideous corruption of the court of Catherine, without delivering themselves up to the disorders which stained the Catholic clergy, they had nearly lost their frank and fervent faith, and departed from the austere and holy conduct of their former years. In becoming subservient to the spirit of party, religion degenerated: they held more strongly perhaps to sect, but less to Christianity.

Certain Huguenots, constantly under arms for eight years, could no more establish themselves peaceably under their own roofs. They did not feel that they could live and breathe freely except in the tumult of the camp, and the intoxication of battle. So Coligny wished to employ them in carrying on war in the Brabant. Others, who had assumed, only for the time, the business of the soldier, had less fraternal love and more thirst for vengeance. Avarice and ambition were incentives with the remainder. "The consciences of many," says a contemporary, "began to be disordered, and there were few who manifested strong affection for religion; but great and small already dreamed only of the world, and built only castles in the air."²

The pastors applied themselves to the curing of these wounds

¹ Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. XIX. p. 2.

² *Recueil des choses mémorables*, p. 417.

with the pious men of their Consistories and Synods; but St. Bartholomew, and the new wars it kindled, left them little leisure for so great a work.

We have made no mention of the National Synods which were convoked after that of 1559, because their acts had no reference to general affairs, but were confined exclusively to points of discipline or special matters which would at this day be devoid of all interest. The second National Synod was held at Poitiers, in 1561; the third, at Orleans, in 1562; the fourth, at Lyons, in 1563; the fifth, at Paris, in 1565; the sixth, at Vertueil, in 1567. These assemblies showed themselves justly severe in their maintenance of the faith and the good order of the various flocks.

The seventh National Synod, held at La Rochelle, in the month of April, 1571, under the presidency of Theodore de Bèze, was the first of these great assemblies which had taken place with the full consent of the king. It deserves to be distinguished from the rest for its importance, and for the extraordinary solemnity with which it was pervaded. The Queen of Navarre, the princes Henry of Béarn and Henry de Condé, the Admiral de Coligny, the Count Louis de Nassau were present, and several of these great personages took an important part in the deliberations, as deputies of the churches.

The Confession of Faith of 1559 was there sanctioned, and reduced to a uniform text: "Inasmuch as our confession of faith is printed in different ways," said the members of the assembly, "the Synod declares *that* to be the veritable confession which was engrossed at the first National Synod." They decided to make three authentic copies on parchment, one of which was to be kept at La Rochelle, the second in Béarn, and the third at Geneva, after being signed by all the ecclesiastical and lay members of the Synod. In the archives of the Hôtel-de-ville, the copy which was there deposited, is still to be found.

XII.

An illustrious statesman of the sixteenth century said, in speaking of St. Bartholomew's day: "Let it be erased from the memory of man!" This desire has not been accomplished, nor should it be: the great crimes of humanity contain great and solemn lessons.

This day is far from having been forgotten: a vast library of volumes, of which it has been the subject, could easily be gathered. Writers of every nation, French, Italians, English, Germans, have devoted to it long and patient study. Every word has been weighed, every fact commented on, and the endeavor made to assign to each personage the just measure of responsibility which belongs to him.

There are some questions at this day settled among enlightened and honest men of all opinions. Thus, no one would dare longer to repeat the story of a plot of Coligny against the king. No one would reproduce the thesis of the Abbé de Caveyrac upon *les rigueurs salutaires*. No one can longer seriously deny the premeditation of the massacre. The French Catholic historians, De Thou, Mezeray, Péréfixe, Maimbourg, admit it; the Italian historians, Davila, Capilupi, Adriani, Catena, these confidants of Catherine de Medici, or of the Roman conclave, do more;—they admire, they extol the premeditation, and they regard it as a marvellous effect of the blessing of heaven. These are, once more, the points decided.¹

¹ A writer of the present day, M. Capefigue, transporting into the sixteenth century the ideas and passions of the nineteenth, regards Charles IX. and his court as driven to this course by the mob, and that the masses had been urged by hate against the

But another question, which interests the honor of the French name as well as the rights of truth, must be interposed: Who were the leaders, the true authors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew? We reply, after a research of which we give but a brief analysis:—

The Popes and the King of Spain, who ceased not to demand, by their legates, their ambassadors, their public and secret agents, the extermination of the chiefs of the Huguenot party;

Catherine de Medici, the niece of Clement VII., the Florentine woman, who was deeply read in Machiavelli;

The Cardinal de Lorraine, doubly a foreigner by his birth and by his quality of prince of the Roman Church;

His nephew, Henry de Guise, the Lorraine, a young man of twenty-two years, who wanted to persuade himself that the Admiral had been concerned in the death of his father, encouraged his assassination, that he might become, after his death, the first personage of the State;

Albert de Gondi, the Florentine whom we have already named; he cited, as an example to Charles IX., the murder of the Duke of Orleans by the Duke of Burgundy, and said that it was necessary not to do things by halves, but to kill all, even the two young Bourbon princes, the sin being as great for a few as for many;

René Birago or de Birague, a Milanese adventurer, whom Francis I. had brought to France; he had gradually crept up to the highest offices of the magistracy, and received a cardinal's hat as a reward for the prominent part he played at St. Bartholomew: it was Birago who repeated these atrocious words, that

gentry or Huguenot aristocracy. Then applying to these allegations the system of revolutionary fatality, he concludes that nobody should be accused: (*La Réforme et la Ligne*, pp. 341, 346, 361, 373, *et passim*.) We allude to such idle dreams for the curiosity of the reader; to refute them is unnecessary.

to terminate the wars of religion, there was more need of *cooks* than *soldiers* ;

Finally, Louis Gonzague, a native of Mantua, called the Duke de Nevers, an able courtier, a médiocre officer, and one of the most ardent in instigating the assassinations.

Up to this point there is no Frenchman. Besides Spain and the papacy, were two Lorraines, three Italian men, and one Italian woman.¹ Albert de Gondi was the most intimate of the confidants of Catherine de Medici. The Duke of Guise, Birago, and Louis de Gonzague formed a second secret council, which decided every thing.

Three Frenchmen remain—the Marshal of Tavannes, the Duke of Anjou, and Charles IX. They alone, with the Lorraines and the Italians, had influence in the deliberations; the other Frenchmen were only creatures and instruments.

The Marshal de Tavannes authorized the crime, and helped to consummate it; he even acted, when the affair had commenced, with great violence; but in the councils he had spoken with more moderation than his accomplices, and opposed the project of killing the two princes of Bourbon.

The Duke d'Anjou, then in his twentieth year, had been educated like his brother, Charles IX., by Gondi, who had taught him to violate his faith, and to delight in spectacles of blood. He was already delivered up to the unbridled debaucheries and shameful superstitions which made him the modern Heliogabalus, and the most despicable prince ever seen on the throne of France. "As for me," said Charles IX. to Coligny, "I am a Frenchman, and the King of the French; my brother, the Duke d'Anjou, never speaks without shaking his head, rolling his eyes, and shrugging his shoulders: he is an Italian."

¹ Vide our note upon the Italians of the sixteenth century.

Lastly, Charles IX. The execration of mankind has fallen upon his head, for he held the sceptre on that fatal day, and when he scented blood, became so furious as to perform the office of assassin of his subjects. But he was not the most culpable. He had traits of frankness and generosity : he hesitated ; and he was the only one of that infamous court who experienced remorse.

"Should we not have," asks M. de Châteaubriand in his *Annales historiques*, "some pity for this monarch of twenty-three years ; born with fine talents, a taste for literature and the arts, a character naturally generous, whom an execrable mother had contrived to deprave by all the abuses of debauchery and power ?" Yes, we will have compassion for him with the Huguenots themselves, whose fathers he ordered to be slain, and who with a merciful hand would wipe away the blood which covers his face to find still something human.

Such were the true authors of the St. Bartholomew, and behold how they prepared and accomplished it !

The court saw with displeasure that the chiefs of the Reformers, Jeanne d'Allee, Henry de Bourbon, Henry de Condé, Coligny, Lamoignon, Lemaire, Niquemari, Cavaignes, had retired to La Rochelle, or to their provinces. It was necessary to draw them out again to get them into their hands. They sent to their men of the *Châteauneuf*, who, without exciting their suspicions, might induce them to return to Paris. In fact, some Catholic deputation went to the court, where they met the kindest reception. Charles IX. demeaned himself not only like a king who listens and pardons, but as a prince who wishes to please his dissatisfied subjects. He granted much, and promised more. He especially loaded with attentions Coligny, son-in-law of the Admiral, a young man of an amiable and ingenious character, who almost believed that he had found a friend in his master.

But it was not enough to have gained the chiefs of the second rank ; they wanted those of the first, and to succeed in this, they proposed the marriage of Margaret de Valois, sister of Charles IX., with Henry de Béarn—a very brilliant alliance for the poor house of Navarre, but which dazzled Jeanne d'Albret very little, because she placed the vices of the Valois as an offset to their fortune. "I would choose," said she, "to descend to the condition of the poorest damsel in France rather than sacrifice to the grandeur of my family, my own soul, and that of my son."

The ambassadors of the court presented to her and the leaders of the party, considerations of another order. They affirmed that this marriage would be the best guarantee of a solid peace between the two religions. Coligny was deceived ; he ended by believing, in the sincerity of his great soul, that the whole kingdom would be united at the same time as the royal family. Charles IX. declared, indeed, that he gave his sister in marriage, not only to the Prince of Navarre, but to the whole party. "This will be," said he, "the strongest and closest bond for the maintenance of peace between my subjects, and a sure evidence of my good-will towards the Protestants."

Jeanne d'Albret dared not resist longer. She went to Blois in the month of May, 1572, leaving her son behind her, in consequence of her remaining distrust. "The day that she arrived," says L'Estoile, "the king and the queen-mother received her with so much flattery, especially the king, who called her his great aunt, his all, his best beloved : he was constantly with her, addressing her with so much honor and reverence, that every one was astonished. At night, on retiring, he said to the queen, his mother, laughing—'Well, madam, what do you think of it? Do I play my little part well?' 'Yes,' replied she, 'very well ; but it is of no use unless it continues.' 'Allow

me to go on,' said the king, 'and you will see that I shall ensnare them.'"¹

Jeanne d'Albret set out, on the 15th of May, for Paris. The 4th of June, she fell sick; the 9th, she was dead. Had she been poisoned? Many believed it. They said that a Florentine perfumer, *maître René*, known under the name of the poisoner of the queen, had sold Jeanne d'Albret some gloves impregnated with a subtle poison.

She exhibited in her last days the unshaken piety which had adorned her life. No complaints, nor murmurs, in the severest spasms of pain, escaped her; her faith was resigned and serene. Her tranquil heroism astonished that court where they were accustomed to laugh in dying, but not to fasten their thoughts peacefully on God. She had no regret for life, but in considering the youth of her son and her daughter Catherine. "Although," said she, "I am assured that God will be their father and protector, as he has been mine in my greatest afflictions, I confide them to his Providence, that he may protect them." She died aged forty-four years.

The Admiral Coligny had already come to court in the autumn of 1571; he returned in the month of July, 1572, notwithstanding the apprehensions of several of his friends. "I believe," he said to them, "the undissembled word and the oath of his majesty."

In his first interview, Coligny knelt before his king. Charles IX. lifted him up, called him father, and embracing the illustrious old man three times, he said to him: "We hold you now; you shall not escape if you wish: this is the happiest day of my life."

He allowed the Admiral admission to his councils, and seemed

¹ Journal of Henry III., Vol. I. p. 45.

to listen to him with the deference of a son. Coligny exposed to him the system of policy which he had meditated for a long time, and which was adopted afterwards by Henry IV. and Cardinal Richelieu : The humiliation of the House of Spain ; assistance to the insurgents of the Low Countries ; alliance with the Protestant princes of the Empire and Sweden, in order to become the arbiter of peace and war in Europe. The conquest of the Netherlands was then easy ; for the Belgians, from hatred of Philip II. and the Duke d'Albe, voluntarily offered their consent to form an integral part of the kingdom. If the plan of the Admiral had been adopted, France would have become, from the sixteenth century, the first power of the world, and the face of all modern history would have been changed. But the popes, the queen-mother, her confidants, and the Guises, prevented it, in spite of Charles IX., who at last felt in his heart the instinct of national honor.

The marriage of Margaret of Valois with Henry of Béarn, who had just taken the name of the King of Navarre, was celebrated the 18th of August, 1572, and four days were passed in plays, banquets, masquerades, and ballets.

On Friday, the 22d of August, Coligny returned from the Louvre, accompanied by twelve or fifteen noblemen. He marched leisurely, being occupied in reading petitions, when, passing before the cloister St. Germain, he was shot with an arquebuse loaded with three balls, which shattered the forefinger of his right hand, and wounded him in the left arm. They forced open the door of the house from which the balls had been fired, but they found no one there but a lackey and a servant girl. The murderer had had time to take flight. It was Maurevel, an old page of the Dukes of Guise, and one of their confidants, *a hired butcher of the king, an ordinary assassin*, as the historians of the epoch call him.

The surgeon, Ambrose Paré, examined the wound of the Admiral. It was feared that the copper balls had been poisoned, and Coligny thought it was his last hour. "My friends," said he, "why do you weep? For myself, I deem it an honor to have received these wounds for the name of God: pray him to strengthen me."

The news of the horrid assault spread in a moment through Paris, and produced the greatest agitation. The magistrates ordered the captains of the militia to assemble their companies and guard the Hôtel-de-ville. The king was playing at tennis when he learned the event, and throwing down his racket with rage, he exclaimed: "Shall I never have rest? And shall I see new disorders every day?" This first cry of the king's conscience exculpates his memory: the assassination was the work of the Duke of Guise, supported by Catherine de Medici and her confidants: it had not been ordered by Charles IX.

The Calvinists ran in consternation to the lodgings of the Admiral and held a council. They wanted to carry him immediately out of Paris: but the physicians would not permit it.

The Marshals Darnville and de Cosse, men of the moderate party, also came to offer their services to the Admiral. "I have no other regret at what has happened," he said to them, "than that I am deprived of the power to show the king the strong affection which I have for his service. I should have been glad to confer a little with his majesty," added he, "upon matters which are very important for him to know, and I think there is no person who would dare to request it to him."

In the afternoon, Charles IX. came to see him with the queen-mother, the Duke d'Angou, and other personages of the court. The details of this interview are differently told. Coligny spoke to the king of the war of the Netherlands and the Edict of Pacification; after which, he conversed with him some minutes in a

low voice. Charles IX. and his mother wished to see the ball which had been extracted from his wound. "You have the wound," said the king, "and I the perpetual pain; but by G—d, I will execute a vengeance so terrible that its memory shall never be lost."

Was this indignation sincere? We may conclude so from the menaces he addressed to the Duke Henry de Guise, and from the order he gave him to quit the court without delay. But Catherine and the Duke d'Anjou intimated that the murder of the Admiral, despite of all his efforts, would be charged to him; that the civil war would be again kindled, and it was better to gain the battle in Paris, where all the chiefs were assembled, than be exposed to the hazard of a new campaign. "Well, then," said Charles IX., in a fit of phrensy, "since you approve the murder of the Admiral, I am content; be it the same with all the Huguenots, that there may not remain one to reproach me."

Saturday was passed in preparations and conventicles. The Duke of Guise, who had returned immediately after having feigned a departure, had an understanding with the magistrates, the captains of quarters, and the Swiss. "Let every good Catholic," said he, "bind around his arm a piece of white cloth, and wear a white cross on his hat."

The hour advances. Catherine says to Charles IX. that there is no more time to draw back; the moment has come for cutting off the gangrened limbs; and in her deep excitement instinctively using her native tongue, "*E pietà*," says she, "*lor ser crudele, e crudeltà lor ser pietoso*;" "it is piety or pity to be cruel to them, and it would be cruelty to be merciful to them."

Charles still hesitates; a cold sweat ran from his forehead. His mother touches his most sensitive point; she asks him if, by

his irresolution, he wishes to give a suspicion of his courage. The king is indignant at the very thought of a suspicion of cowardice. He rises, and exclaims: "Well, then, begin!" It was half past one o'clock at night.

In the chamber of the king were only Catherine, Charles IX., and the Duke d'Anjou. All three kept a dead silence. A first shot of the pistol sounded. Charles, greatly moved, commands the Duke of Guise not to hasten. It was too late. The queen-mother, suspicious of the hesitation of her son, had ordered the signal to be given earlier. The great bell of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois was struck between two and three o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the 24th of August. At the sound of the tocsin, from every door rush armed men, crying: *Vive Dieu et le roi!*

The Duke of Guise, accompanied by his uncle, the Duke d'Aumale, a *chevalier* of Angoulême, and three hundred soldiers, hastened towards the lodgings of the Admiral. They knocked at the first gate, in the name of the king. A gentleman opens: he falls, stabbed. The inner gate is broken in. At the reports of the arquebuses, Coligny and all his attendants arise. They attempt to barricade the door of the apartments; but this feeble defence falls before the efforts of the assailants.

The Admiral had invited his minister Merlin to recite prayers with him. A servant ran in, greatly terrified. "My lord, the house is forced, and there is no means of resisting." "It is long since," replied Coligny, "that I prepared myself to die. The rest of you save yourselves, if you can; for you cannot defend my life. I commend my soul to the mercy of God."

All reached an upper room of the house except Nicholas Muss, his interpreter of the German language. Coligny supported himself against the wall, being unable to stand upright, on account of his wound. The first who enters the chamber is

a Lorraine or German, named *Behem*, *Besme*, a servant of the Duke of Guise. "Art thou not the Admiral?" "Yes, I am he." And looking, without any emotion, at the naked sword of the assassin: "Young man, thou shouldst have regard for my old age and my infirmity; but thou wilt not, however, shorten my life." Besme plunges his sword into his breast, and gives him a second blow on the head. The others finish the murder by stabs of the dagger.¹

Guise waited with impatience in the court. "Besme, have you done it?" "It is done, my lord. *M. le Chevalier* would not believe it until he saw it with his own eyes; throw the body from the window." Besme and one of his companions lift the body of the Admiral, who, still respiring, clings to the casement. They precipitate him into the yard. The Duke of Guise wipes with his handkerchief his face covered with blood. "I recognize him," said he; "it is the man." And giving the corpse a kick with his foot, he bursts forth into the street, crying out: "Courage, comrades; we have happily begun: let us go for others; the king commands it."

Sixteen years and four months after, the 23d of December, 1588, in the castle of Blois, the corpse of this same Henry de Guise was lying before Henry III., who also gave him a kick in the face. Sovereign justice of God!

Coligny was aged fifty-five and a half years. After the peace of 1570, he read morning and evening the sermons of Calvin upon the book of Job, saying that this history was his remedy and his consolation in all his ills. He also employed some hours daily in compiling memoirs. These papers, having been brought to the council after St. Bartholomew, were burnt by

¹This Besme received the reward of his crime from the Cardinal of Lorraine, who allowed him to marry one of his illegitimate daughters: double shame for an ecclesiastic to recompense such a man, and to have such a recompense to give.

the order of the king, from fear of increasing the regret for his death.

Some time after, as the ambassador of England was testifying his sorrow for the murder of Coligny : " Know you," said Catherine to him, " that the Admiral recommended to the king, as a thing of the greatest importance, the humbling of the King of Spain, and also your mistress, Queen Elizabeth, as far as possible ?" " It is true, madam," responded the ambassador, " he was a bad Englishman, but a true-hearted Frenchman."

Let us still cite this word of Montesquieu : " The Admiral Coligny was assassinated with nothing in his heart but the glory of the State."

XIII.

We wish, in completing our task, to abridge as much as possible, the details of St. Bartholomew.

When the sun of the 24th of August rose upon Paris, all was tumult, confusion, and carnage ; blood streaming in the streets ; corpses of men, women, and children encumbering the doors ; everywhere groans, blasphemies, cries of death and imprecations ; the butchers by thousands insulting their victims before killing them, and then seizing their spoils ; the dagger, lance, knife, sword, arquebuse, all the arms of the soldier and the brigand employed in this execrable massacre, and the vile populace running behind the butchers, giving the death-stroke to the Huguenots, mutilating them, dragging them in the mud with a cord round the neck, to have their part also in this festival of cannibals.

At the Louvre, the Huguenots, conducted one after another through a double line of halberds, fell covered with blood before

reaching the end; and the ladies of the court, right worthy mothers, wives, and sisters of the assassins, came to satiate their shameless eyes upon the corpses of the victims.

It has been remarked, that of so many brave noblemen who had a thousand times fronted death on the fields of battle, there was only one, Taverny, who attempted to defend himself; yet he was a civilian. The others offered their throat to the dagger and the stiletto, like women. A massacre so monstrous, overwhelming their minds, paralyzed their hands; and before they had power to come to themselves, they were no more.

Some, however, who lived on the other side of the Seine, at the Faubourg St. Germain, Montgomery, Rohan, Ségur, La Ferrière, had time to comprehend their situation and escape. It was now that the king, maddened with fury, seized an arquebuse, and fired upon the French. Two hundred and twenty-seven years after, Mirabeau took up from the dust of centuries the arquebuse of Charles IX. to turn it against the throne of Louis XVI. The generations of royal races are responsible for each other.

On the same Sunday morning the king called to his presence Henry de Navarre and Henry de Condé. He said to them in a ferocious tone: *Mass, death, or the Bastile!* After some resistance, the two princes consented to make profession of the Roman faith; but neither the court nor the people believed in the sincerity of their abjuration.

The massacre lasted four days. It was necessary to cover it with a pretext before France and Europe. They first wished to throw the weight on the Guises, but they refused. They next invented the pretended conspiracy of the Huguenots against Charles IX. and his family. There were tergiversations of all sorts, inventions which could not last an hour, declarations which they denied the next day, orders and counter-orders to the gov-

errors of the provinces :—miserable farce of comedians after the tragic catastrophe.

Thursday, when the blood of the victims was inundating the streets of Paris, the clergy celebrated an extraordinary jubilee, and made a general procession. They even resolved to consecrate an annual fête to a triumph so glorious ; and while Catholic pulpits were resounding with thanksgiving, a medallion was struck with this inscription : *La piété a réveillé la justice !*¹

The St. Bartholomew recommenced in the provinces, and lasted, horrible to say, more than six weeks.

Let us notice, with a religious care, the names of the governors who refused to take part in these massacres : the Viscount d'Orthez, at Bayonne ; the Count de Tende, in Dauphiny ; St. Heran, in Auvergne ; Chabot-Charny, and the President Jeannin, at Dijon ; La Guiche, at Mâcon ; De Rieux, at Narbonne ; Maignon, at Alençon ; Villars, at Nismes ; the Count de Carce, in Provence, and the Montmorencys, in their domains and governments.

We love especially to add to this list the name of an ecclesiastic, Jeanne Hennuyer, Bishop of Lisieux. When the lieutenant of the king communicated to him the order to massacre the Huguenots, he replied : “ No, no, sir ; I oppose, and always will oppose, the execution of such an order. I am the pastor of Lisieux, and these people whom you command me to butcher are my flock. Although they may now be erring, having strayed from the fold, the protection of which Jesus Christ, the sovereign pastor, has intrusted to me, they may nevertheless return. I do not see in the Gospel, that the pastor should permit one to spill the blood of his sheep ; on the contrary, I find there that he is obliged to pour out his own blood, and to give his own life for

¹ Religion has awakened justice.

them." Upon this the governor demanded for his discharge a refusal in writing, and the Bishop Hennuyer gave it to him.¹

The provinces suffered variously. In those where the Protestants were few, as Brittany, Picardy, Champagne, and Burgundy, the Catholics committed few excesses. In certain cantons of the provinces, on the contrary, where they were very numerous, as in Saintonge and Lower Languedoc, they did not dare to attack them. It becomes us also to observe that, in general, there was a St. Bartholomew only in the towns. This explains why so many Calvinists escaped death.

The faithful of Meaux were murdered in the prisons during several days, and the sword being too slow, they employed hammers of iron. Four hundred houses, which occupied the most beautiful quarter of the town, were pillaged and devastated.

At Troyes, the executioner had more humanity than the governor, who gave him orders to massacre the prisoners. "That would be against the duty of my office," said he, "not having heard of the execution of a man without he has been subjected to the sentence of previous condemnation." Other executioners were found who, perceiving their heart failing in the midst of the butchery, had recourse to wine to fortify their courage.

At Orleans, where three thousand Calvinists still remained, some horsemen cried, in the streets: "Courage, boys! kill all, and then you shall pillage their property." The most ferocious were those who had abjured in the last wars; they parodied the Psalms, while immolating those who had denied the faith.

At Rouen, many Huguenots took flight; the rest were thrown into prison. The massacre did not commence till the 17th of September, and lasted four days. The prisoners were called by their names upon a list, which had been given to the butchers.

¹ Maimbourg, *Hist. de Calvin*, p. 486.

Nearly six hundred persons, according to the account of Crespín, perished there.

At Toulouse, the deeds at Paris were known on Sunday, the 31st of August. The gates of the city were immediately closed, and they allowed the Protestants, who had gone to celebrate divine service in the village, to enter only one by one, by the small postern-gates of Castanet. They were conducted into the prisons and the convents. They remained there a month. It was only the third of October that they were executed, under the orders of the first president Dafis. Three hundred of them perished. Among them were five counsellors, who, after having been killed, were hung in their robes to the great elm which was before the court of the palace.

The massacre of Bordeaux was retarded like that of Toulouse, and during these hesitations, a Jesuit, named Augier, declaimed every day in the pulpit against the pusillanimity of the governor. In fine, companies of assassins were organized: they had the name of *red band*, or *band of the cardinals*.

The cities of Bourges, Angers, and many others, witnessed like scenes. But there were few like the massacre of Lyons: there was there a second St. Bartholomew, still more horrible than that of Paris, because it was executed with a sort of regularity. The governor, Mandelot, ordered the Calvinists to be inclosed in the prisons of the Archvêché, the Cordeliers, and the Célestins, and to be massacred in regular order. The executioner of Lyons, like him of Troyes, refused to act. "After sentence," said he, "I will see what I have to do; besides, there are too many executioners in the city, such as are demanded." An author says, of this subject: "What a re-establishment of order it would have been, if, in this unfortunate city, they had made the butcher governor, and the governor butcher."¹

¹ Aignan, *Biblioth. étrangère*, t. I. p. 229.

There perished at Lyons, according to some, eight hundred ; according to others, thirteen hundred, fifteen hundred, or eighteen hundred Huguenots. The inhabitants along the Rhône, in Dauphiné and Provence, were dismayed at seeing so many bodies floating and thrown upon the banks of the stream : many were fastened to long poles, and horribly mutilated. "At Lyons," says Capilupi, a nobleman attached to the court of the Pope, "thanks to the wonderfully good order and singular prudence of M. de Mandelot, governor of the city, all the Huguenots were taken secretly, one after another, like sheep."¹

The correspondence of Mandelot has recently been published. He expresses to Charles IX. his profound regret that some Huguenots had escaped, and supplicated his majesty to give him a part in the spoils of the dead. Lyons has seen other massacres, but we have not heard that the proconsuls of the Convention have held out the hand for the price of blood.

What was the number of the victims in all France? De Thou says 30,000 ; Sully, 70,000 ; the Bishop Péréfixe, 100,000. This last number is probably exaggerated, if we reckon only those who perished by a violent death. But if we add those who died from wretchedness, hunger, sorrow, abandoned old men, women without shelter, children without bread,—all the miserable whose life was shortened by this great catastrophe, we shall see that the estimate of Péréfixe is still below the reality.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew resounded throughout Europe. The first reports were not believed. When they were confirmed, every court, temple, public place and edifice, resounded with them, and there was not a cottage in which the St. Bartholomew did not produce, according to the sentiments of those who inhabited it, emotions of joy or terror.

¹ *Le Stratagème de Charles IX.*, p. 178.

Many thought, in the beginning, it was but the first scene of a more vast conspiracy, and that the Catholic powers had resolved to butcher all the Protestants of Europe. The papacy, Philip II., and the Court of Charles IX., ceased not to speak, indeed, of the complete extermination of the heretics: the power alone was wanting, not the will.

At Rome, the news of the massacre which Charles IX. had announced by secret messages to the legate, was received with transports of joy. The messenger was rewarded with a thousand pieces of gold. He brought a letter from the nuncio Salviati, written the very day, 24th of August, in which that priest said to Gregory XIII., that he blessed God for the privilege of seeing his pontificate commence so gloriously. King Charles IX. and Queen Catherine were extolled in it for displaying so much sagacity in extirpating this pestiferous root, and choosing the time so well, that the rebels were all shut up under key, as in a cage.

After having rendered solemn thanksgiving in the college of the cardinals, the Pope ordered the firing of cannon in the castle St. Angelo proclaimed a jubilee, and struck a medallion in honor of this great event. The Cardinal of Lorraine, who had gone to Rome to attend the election of a new Pontiff, also celebrated the massacre by a great procession at the French church of St. Louis. He ordered an inscription to be placed upon the doors in letters of gold, in which he stated that the Lord had heard the wishes and prayers which he had addressed him for many years.

Madrid shared in the madness of Rome. Philip II. wrote to the Senate that it was the greatest and the best news which could have been announced to him. This prince, who has been surmised *the terror of the South*, had other reasons for rejoicing over his massacre.

In the Netherlands, the Duke of A. de exclaimed on learning of the accomplishment of Caligula. "The Admiral had!" — a pun

great commander less for France, and one great enemy less for Spain."

But how shall we describe the impression produced by the massacre of St. Bartholomew in the Protestant countries? We can see in the letters of Theodore de Bèze and other personages of his time, that during more than a year, they could not for a moment drive away this bloody, this horrible image, and that they speak with an excitement which attests the profound commotion of their souls.

Germany, England, Switzerland, on the arrival of multitudes of frightened fugitives in their domains, half-dead, and learning from their lips the story of the massacres, execrated the very name of France. At Geneva they instituted a solemn day of fasting and prayer, which is observed even to this day. In Scotland, all the pastors preached upon the St. Bartholomew; and the aged Knox, borrowing the language of the prophets, pronounced, in a church of Edinburgh, the following words: "Sentence has gone forth against that murderer, the King of France, and the vengeance of God will never be withdrawn from his house. His name shall be in everlasting execration; and none of those who shall spring from his loins shall possess the kingdom in peace and in quiet, unless repentance shall come before the judgment of God."

The ambassador, Lamothe Fénelon, commissioned to justify St. Bartholomew, at the Court of London, by accusing the Admiral of having conspired against Charles IX., exclaimed, in his bitterness, that he was ashamed of bearing the name of Frenchman. "Never," says Hume, "was there a more terrible and more affecting preparation than that of the solemnity of this audience. A sombre sadness was painted on every countenance; the deep silence of night seemed to reign in all the apartments of the queen. The lords and ladies of the court, in long mourning

dresses, allowed the ambassador to pass through their midst without saluting him, without honoring him with a look.”¹ On coming near the queen, he stammered out his odious apology, and retired in consternation.

The justification of the massacre was not less difficult in Germany. The ambassador Schomberg did what he could to obtain credit for the lie of a plot by Coligny, but he found no believers. They even refused to treat with him otherwise than by writing ; so greatly was an envoy of Charles IX. despised, so much were the word, the honor, the name of France then dishonored !

When the Duke d’Anjou was travelling in Germany, in 1573, the Elector Palatine took him into his cabinet, and, showing him the portrait of Coligny, said : “ You know that man, monsieur ; you have killed the greatest leader of Christianity, and you should not have done it ; for he had done you and the king great services.” The Duke d’Anjou replied that it was the Admiral who had wished to kill all the court. “ We know the history of it, monsieur,” said the Elector, coldly.

If we weigh well all the circumstances of the St. Bartholomew,—the premeditation ; the intervention of the court and the counsels of the king ; the snares placed for the feet of the Calvinists ; the solemn oaths which had drawn them to Paris ; the bloody fêtes of a royal marriage ; the dagger placed in the hands of the people by the chief men of the State ; the hecatombs of human victims, butchered in a time of entire peace ; the carnage lasting two months in the provinces ; the priests, and the princes of the priests, their feet in blood, raising their hands to heaven to bless God ;—if, we say, all these things are well considered, we shall be convinced that St. Bartholomew is the greatest crime of the Christian era, since the irruption of the Goths and Vandals.

¹ History of England, Vol. VII. p. 201.

The Sicilian Vespers, the extermination of the Albigenses, the horrors of the Inquisition, the murders by the Spaniards in the New World, atrocious as these may be, they do not show to the same degree the violation of all laws, divine and human. This great butchery has produced in later times the most frightful calamities. Individuals may commit crimes which remain unpunished in this world; dynasties, classes, and nations, never.

The race of the Valois has expired under the dagger, and almost all the actors in the St. Bartholomew have perished by a violent death.¹

In France herself the consequences were, a detestable reign, that of Henry III.; shameful and ferocious manners; dishonored laws; the fury of the League; twenty-five years of new civil wars. Without the kingdom, all the ancient and natural alliances broken; Protestant Switzerland, Germany, England, against us, or grown stern in a defiant neutrality; France, in fine, reduced to that excess of opprobrium which followed the king's submission to the tutelage of the King of Spain, and his humiliation of himself at Madrid, in order to obtain an army. The illustrious reigns of Henry IV. and of Richelieu scarcely restored her to the place in Europe which she had lost, and it was regained to her only by a policy entirely opposed to that of St. Bartholomew.

What, then, was the compensation for so much shame and crime? There is one, if it is thought proper to invoke it. Without St. Bartholomew, the French Reformation, notwithstanding the losses which it has experienced, would have still formed a considerable minority. The half of the noblesse of the kingdom would have remained in the new communion. It is doubtful whether Henry IV. would have abjured. At all events, the re-

¹ M. Lacretelle has collected the proofs of this fact in his *Histoire des guerres de religion*.

vocation of the Edict of Nantes would have been impossible, and there would have been, perhaps, in our day, with the increase of the population, five or six millions of Protestants in France. St. Bartholomew, by its murders, emigrations, and abjurations, has given them a wound from which they have never recovered. Is there any thing here by which to justify the crime?

But we cannot even permit this consideration to those who would avail themselves of it. "The execrable day of St. Bartholomew," says M. de Châteaubriand, "made only martyrs; it gave to philosophic ideas an advantage, which they never have lost, over religious ideas."¹ Thus, a few millions of Protestants the less, and many millions of philosophers and unbelievers the more, behold the summing up of St. Bartholomew! What, then, have the priests gained by diminishing the number of the disciples of Luther and Calvin, in order to increase that of the followers of Montaigne and Voltaire? They have gained the anti-Catholic reaction of the eighteenth century, the hostilities of the Constituent Assembly, the massacres of the Abbey, the proscriptions of 1793; and what more? The spirit of our times. This spirit, which has passed from France into Italy, has not yet uttered its final sentence upon Catholicism.

XIV.

The Calvinists who had survived St. Bartholomew thought only of organizing their means of defence. They had in Cevennes, Rouergue, Vivarais, and Dauphiny, the protection of their mountains. In the plains of the south, fifty towns or

¹ *Etudes hist.*, t. IV. p. 296.

boroughs, Aubenas, Anduze, Milhan, Sommieres, Privas, closed their gates, resolved to oppose to the troops of the king a desperate resistance. At Nismes the inhabitants were summoned to receive a garrison, but they refused, notwithstanding the most intimidating menaces. A counsellor of the court of judicature, M. de Clausonne, *a man of great standing in that place*, says John de Serres, had made them comprehend that resistance alone could save them.

Some noblemen and pastors, assembled at Montauban, even formed a project of religious and political confederation, *until it shall please God to change the heart of the king, or raise up a liberator for this poor and oppressed people*. Every town was to elect a council of one hundred persons, without distinction, of nobles, citizens, or peasants, in order to direct all matters of justice, police, taxes, and war, and these councils were to choose a general-in-chief. They recommended the exercise of severity towards armed seditious men, but all moderation and kindness towards peaceable Catholics.

Catherine de Medici and Charles IX. might then have convinced themselves that they were grossly deceived in supposing that all would be finished by the death of the principal Calvinistic nobles. They had counted too much upon the power of the ancient principle of vassalage, and not enough upon the power of religious principle. The Reformation had given to the most humble the consciousness of an individual conscience derived from God alone; and this new sort of independence prepared in their minds the advent of modern right.

Wherever resistance was possible, it showed itself still more active, more obstinate than before; for they saw in their prince only an enemy. The siege of Sancerre is still famous. This little town resisted for more than ten months the royal army, although the inhabitants, for want of firearms, were obliged to defend

themselves with simple slings, which weapon was in consequence called the arquebuse of Sancerre. They suffered a famine, which recalls that of Jerusalem in the time of Titus and Vespasian. An eye-witness, the pastor John de Léry, has written the details of it as they occurred from day to day. They were reduced to the necessity of eating snails, moles, wild herbs, bread made of meal mixed with powdered slate, the harnesses of the horses, and even the parchment of old books, titles, and letters, which had been soaked in water. "I have seen them used," says Léry, "when the printed characters and handwriting still appeared, and could read the morsels which were on the plate all ready for eating."

So, from hour to hour, the besieged fell from starvation. The war killed only eighty-four; the famine destroyed more than five hundred. "Young children under twelve years," says John de Serres, "almost all died. It was mournful to hear the lamentations of poor fathers and mothers, the most part of whom, nevertheless, fortified themselves in the assurance of the favor of God. A youth of ten years, about to die, seeing those who had given him birth weeping near him, and taking hold of his arms and thighs, which were as dry as sticks of wood, said to them: 'Why do you weep so to see me die from hunger? I do not ask you for bread, my mother; I know you have none. But since God wishes me to die thus, we should bear it cheerfully. Did not the holy Lazarus bear hunger? Have I not read that in the Bible?' Saying these words, he gave up his soul to God."¹

The inhabitants had resolved to perish thus, even to the last one, sooner than surrender themselves to the murderers of St. Bartholomew. "Here we fight," said they to their besiegers; "go elsewhere to assassinate." An unexpected event delivered them.

¹ P. 462.

Deputies arrived from Poland to offer to the Duke of Anjou the crown of the Jagellons, who interceded in their favor, and granted them the securities which they demanded.

Much the same fate awaited La Rochelle. This town, which, by its old free form of government, formed a kind of republic, and whose numerous vessels equalled the forces of the royal marine, had refused to receive a garrison. Fifty-five pastors of the Poitou and the Saintonge, and a multitude of noblemen, bourgeois, and peasants, had, at the first news of St. Bartholomew, sought a last refuge behind its high walls, fully determined to defend themselves till death. The overtures made to the inhabitants having been useless, and the army of the besiegers having lost great numbers, Charles IX. resorted to the strange course of sending into the town a negotiator and Calvinistic governor, the honest Lanoue.

Francis de Lanoue, surnamed *Bras-de-Fer*, who had played only a secondary part in the ranks of the Huguenots, became their most distinguished chief after the death of Coligny. He had a noble and penetrating mind, a generous character, and a perfect integrity. He is always seen in the history of these unfortunate wars, regardless of danger, intrepid without boasting, modest in victory, calm and serene in reverses. He was the Catinat of the sixteenth century.

By a singularity of military life, he became four or five times a prisoner. He however sustained these misfortunes with so noble a spirit, that the Catholics learned to esteem him as they knew him better. Not one of the Protestants, with the exception of Coligny himself, has ever wrung from them so many eulogiums.

Two Jesuits, Maimbourg and Daniel, render a just tribute to his rare virtues; they only regret his heresy. The ferocious Montluc calls him as valiant and wise as any commander in France; the frivolous Brantôme says that one cannot weary of recounting his virtues, his valor, and his merits; the skeptical Montaigne

praises his constancy and the mildness of his manners. In fine, when he died, Henry IV. pronounced in a single sentence the most beautiful of funeral orations: "He was great in war, but still greater in virtue."

During one of his long captivities he composed his *Discours politiques et militaires*, a part of which form what is called his *memoires*. They are written in a compact, nervous style—the language of a soldier and an honest man, who writes to do good, not for self-glorification.

Lanoue was a prisoner of the Duke of Albe, in the days of St. Bartholomew; it was he who saved him. Having regained his freedom, he was intrusted by the king with a commission to offer conditions of peace at La Rochelle. His person was joyfully received, but his mission rejected, and the inhabitants defended themselves until the arrival of the Polish deputies.

The Duke of Anjou, who commanded the royal army, and who was chagrined at losing his troops and his reputation in this long siege, awaited impatiently an opportunity of withdrawing without too great disgrace. It was offered him by his election to the crown of Poland.

A new edict, published the 11th of August, 1573, authorized the public exercise of religion, but in three cities only—La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nismes. The lord high justices could celebrate baptism, marriages, and sacraments, but only in private parties, which should not exceed the number of ten persons. For all other Calvinists nothing more was granted than the simple right of private councils. It was in this edict that the expression was first employed—the *pretended Reformed Religion*.¹

There was not one of these half-way measures, contradictory in principle, impracticable in application, which did not serve to

¹ *Religion pretendue reformée.*

exasperate their minds, and increase the embarrassment of their situation. If the exercise of the Reformed Religion was a crime, it should have been prohibited everywhere; if not, it should have been forbidden nowhere. Besides, why this arbitrary limitation of certain assemblies to ten persons? And how prevent the Calvinists from assembling in places where they were in the ascendant? Would they place a garrison in every borough, every village of the south, and post soldiers in all the gorges of the mountains?

The Protestants of Montauban, on the 24th of August, a year after the St. Bartholomew to a day, drew up an energetic remonstrance, in which they redemanded all which had been granted by the treaty of 1570; and three noblemen were commissioned to present this petition to Charles IX. The king, whom they met at Villers-Coterets, heard without saying a word, contrary to his custom, the reading of the memorial. But Catherine, exclaimed, with high indignation: "If your Prince of Condé was still alive, and if he was in the heart of France with twenty thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, he would not ask the half of what these people have the insolence to demand of us."

This language was haughty, but the haughtiness ill became Catherine de Medici, after the infamous assassinations she had instigated, and she was not in a situation to justify such words. Throughout the realm all was anarchy and violence: in the royal family itself was nothing but disorder and divisions. The queen-mother feared the eldest of her sons, despised the youngest, and loved only the second, who had just gone to Poland; and all distrusted her. The three brothers were enemies, and their sister, Margaret of Valois, was stained with the crimes of adultery and incest.

The party of *politiques*, or *Tiers-Parti*, was increasing. It was composed of those who had retained some feeling for the ancient national honor, and who experienced a profound disgust

for a court filled throughout with hired assassins, poisoners, astrologers, and abandoned women.

The three sons of the Constable, Francis de Montmorency, Damville and Thoré, the Marshals Cossé and Biron, several governors of the provinces, magistrates, some members of the privy council itself, were among the number of these politicians or *malcontents*. Their leader was the Duke of Alençon, afterwards designated by the name of the Duke d'Anjou, the youngest son of Queen Catherine. The circumstance of his being a brother of the king, gave him influence; but this prince, then in his twentieth year, was poorly endowed in mind and body, inconstant, presumptuous, faithless to his word, and eager to throw himself into great enterprises which he was incapable of carrying out.

Even among the *bourgeoisie* new maxims of right and political liberty were spreading. It was at this period that Boëtius published his treatise on *voluntary servitude*, which astonishes us even at this day by its boldness; and Francis Hotman his *Franco-Gallia*, in which he maintained that the States-General could depose bad princes and appoint their successors.

The malcontents commenced negotiations with the Calvinists, who had made more firm and close their union at Milhau, the 16th of December, 1573, promising a *common fraternity, perfect and durable forever, in all religious and civil matters*. They had prescribed in their terms of union the regular convocation of their assemblies every six months, a new order of justice, and forms to be followed in the levying of men and money. It was a state within a State: the unhappy but inevitable consequence of the desecration of all law at St. Bartholomew.

Charles IX. died in the midst of these disorders, overcome by vague and sombre terrors, believing that he heard groans in the air, starting from his sleep at night, and struck by a strange malady, which made him bleed from every pore.

Two days before his death, he had near him, says L'Estoile, his nurse, whom he ardently loved, *although she was a Huguenot*. "As she was sitting upon a chest, and commenced nodding, having heard the king complaining, weeping, and groaning, she approached his bed very softly; and taking off the coverlet, the king began to say to her, drawing a deep sigh, and weeping so violently that the sobs interrupted his words: 'Ah! my nurse, my dear, my nurse, what blood, what murders! Ah! what evil counsels I have followed! O my God! pardon me, and have mercy on me, if thou canst. I know not what I am. What shall I do? I am lost: I see it well.' The nurse said to him, 'Sire, let the murders rest on those who counselled you to them! And since you consented not to them, and are repentant, trust that God will not charge them upon you, and will cover them with the mantle of his Son's justice, to whom alone you should turn.' Upon that, having brought a handkerchief, his own being saturated with his tears, after his majesty had taken it from her hand, he made her a sign that she should retire and allow him to rest."¹

Charles IX. died the 30th of May, 1574, not having yet reached twenty-four years, rejoicing, as he said, that he had no male heir of tender age, for he would have too much to suffer.

XV.

Catherine de Medici resumed the regency, which she had never actually yielded, and attempted to negotiate with the Calvinist party and the malcontents, awaiting the arrival of her second son, whom we must now call Henry III.

¹ *Journal de Henri III.*, t. I. p. 71. 72.

He escaped from Poland as from a prison. During his journey he received the prudent advice of the Emperor Maximilian, the Doge of Venice, and even the Duke of Savoy, who tried to persuade him to re-establish peace in his kingdom by edicts equitable and faithfully observed; but he did not profit by these counsels.

Reaching France in the month of September, Henry III. was joined by his mother at Bourgoins, and made with her a triumphal entry at Lyons. The Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre followed them, in appearance free, in reality captives. There they discussed the plan of conduct towards the Calvinists and politicians. Some members of the council, Pibrac, Bellegarde, Christopher de Thou, Paul de Foix, inclined to mild and accommodating measures; but Catherine and her Italian confidants, Retz, Nevers, Birague, held opposite sentiments, and their opinion governed that of Henry III.

This prince of twenty-three years had given some indications of courage before the treaty of 1570. He was not wanting in dexterity, dignity, nor grace, when he appeared in public. But he was corrupted by the licentiousness of the court. He spent many hours in adorning his person, like a woman; and dishonored the dignity of manhood, the majesty of a king, by unrestrained debaucheries. The favorites with whom he was surrounded kept him in a dissolute and shameful indolence, and the baseness of his vices was only equalled by the extravagance of his superstitions. ●

On his return to France, he allied himself with the fraternity of Flagellants or *Frères-Battus* of Avignon; and in a solemn procession, the king led the white *Battus*, Catherine the black, the Cardinal d'Armagnac the blue. They marched through the city barefooted, heads uncovered, rosaries of bones in their girdles, drawing blood with cords from their shoulders. Some

historians thought there was under these despicable masquerades a political motive. Why search so far for what is so near? Between the excesses of depravity and those of bigotry are found the strangest and profoundest affinities.

It was now December. The Cardinal of Lorraine was attacked with a fever, of which he died. The queen-mother, whom history accuses of being far too intimate with him, could not on this occasion successfully employ her usual dissimulation. On seating herself at table, the same evening, in raising her glass to her lips, she trembled so violently that it fell from her hands, and she exclaimed: "Jesus! behold there, I see M. the Cardinal!" For more than a month afterwards, she refused to remain alone at night, being constantly haunted by this ghastly apparition, and saying to her ladies: "Drive away this Cardinal: do you not see that he makes a sign to me, and beckons me with his finger?" What, then, had happened between her and this priest, that a woman like Catherine de Medici was so frightened at his death?

At Paris Henry III. continued his devout habits: it was the religion, not of a king, but of a demented monk. He erected in the churches oratories, otherwise called *paradises*, where he went every day during Lent. He also followed the processions with a false peruke, in a ridiculous costume, and in company with a buffoon, called Sibillot, "the most abandoned wretch," says John de Serres, "that could be found in France, who marched between his master and the Cardinal of Ferrara; and while the priests chanted their song, *Ora pro nobis*, this clown, with his grimaces, exhibited his fooleries, and played off his jests." Then Henry III. went in his coach, with the queen his wife, through the streets, and into the houses of Paris, to buy little dogs, apes, and other rare animals, for which they made him pay their weight in gold.

At the end of six months he was despised even by the lowest of the people and his domestics. A placard was seen in all the streets in these terms: "Henry, by the grace of his mother, inert King of France, doorkeeper of the Louvre, churchwarden of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, buffoon of the churches of Paris, starcher of the collars of his wife, and frizzler of her hair, keeper of the Four Mendicants, conscript-father of the *Blancs-Battus*, and protector of the Capuchins."

The number of the malcontents increased, and they made more direct propositions of alliance to the Calvinists. The latter were not agreed what course to follow. On one side were the Reformed *Consistorials*, as they were called; on the other, noblemen, lords, magistrates, and counsellors of the towns. This distinction had existed during the first wars, but it became more prominent in those that followed.

The Consistorials, supported for the most part by pastors, were anxious chiefly for the interests of the faith, and asked only the privilege of celebrating their worship in peace. Mechanics and tradesmen, who were in the majority, considering the questions under their most simple aspect, and deciding them in a religious view, they felt more repugnance than others to taking up arms, and only consented in the last extremity, when the service of God, according to their conscience, was absolutely forbidden. Once upon the field of battle, they would not accept peace, but with sufficient guaranties for the liberty of the churches. The noblemen, always prompt in resorting to arms, were less particular about the religious conditions, and were careful, first of all, of their position in the State. The Consistorials were stronger by number, but weaker by rank, and they had to submit to the domination of the Calvinist noblesse, and shared with them their fortune.

Such was the result of the alliance with the malcontents. It

was concluded in Languedoc, notwithstanding the opposition of pious men; and the consequences were soon apparent. "The excesses and scandals of politics mingled with those of religion," says a contemporary, "completed the extinction of the flame of piety and discipline which remained in their hearts. The Marshal Damville disregarded the conditions agreed upon by him, and contained in the articles of association. However, he abounded in kind words towards the ministers and others; but corruption was seen spreading far and wide like a torrent. Extortions and robberies were increasing before their eyes."¹

The war continued, with various results, without a decisive battle. The heroic defence of the borough of Livron, in Dauphiny, might be cited. When Henry III. presented himself before its gates, in the month of January, 1575, the besieged cried aloud from the walls: "Ah! murderers, you will not stab us in our beds, as you did the Admiral and the others. Bring on these powdered, adorned, and perfumed minions: let us see if they can cope even with our women!" Henry III. was forced to swallow this affront: two-thirds of his little army perished before the village, and the siege was raised.

The Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre, who had been retained at the court since St. Bartholomew, succeeded in escaping, and abjured—the one at Strasburg, the other at Tours—the Catholic faith, which had been imposed upon them with a dagger at the throat. The Duke of Alençon himself had retired into his appanage of Dreux, and published a manifesto, in which he took under his protection the French of both religions.

Having neither men nor money to oppose the confederates who were threatening Paris, the court attempted to gain the leaders of the *Tiers-Parti* by promises of personal advantages,


¹ *Recueil de choses mémor.*, p. 546.

and offered the Calvinists very favorable conditions of peace : the free exercise of religion throughout the kingdom, except at Paris, and within a circle of two leagues ; admission to all the public offices ; courts of justice, in which the judges were half Catholics and half Protestants ; eight places of sanctuary ; the right of establishing schools and convoking synods ; the reinstating the name of Coligny ; in fine, the restoration of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Protestant lords to their domains and governments. This treaty, called the *Pais de Monsieur*, because it had been concluded under the guarantee of the king's brother, was signed at Chastenoy, the 6th of May, 1576.

Catherine and Henry III. only aimed, in placing their signatures to it, to dissolve the alliance of the politicians with the Calvinists. This effected, the treaty was considered as null and void. They secretly authorized the Catholics of Picardy to drive out the Prince of Condé, who had come to take possession of his government, and the persecution did not cease for a single day.

The Protestants of Paris, in order to set an example, in conformity with the edict which directed them to celebrate their worship at the distance of two leagues from the city, held an assembly at Noisy-le-Sec. But several of the people, on their return, were killed, and a greater number wounded. Complaint was brought to the king, who at that moment, says L'Estoile, *was running at the ring, dressed à l'Amazone*, and he noticed these murders no more than if they had been committed in another part of the world.

One article of the treaty had appointed the time for the next convocation of the States-General. They assembled indeed at Blois, in the month of December, 1576 ; but there was no more seen the spirit of the former States of Orleans. Most of the



nobles had returned to the Catholic Church, and the disasters of the realm had exasperated the hearts of the bourgeoisie. The deputies of the three orders united in demanding unity of religion. They besought the king to enjoin the ministers, deacons, overseers, schoolmasters, and other teachers, to abandon the kingdom, or, in default of this, to proceed against them as felons.

Unity thus construed meant nothing less than war. But in order to make war, money was necessary; and when they came to this condition, each of the three orders excused itself. The clergy declared that they had been much impoverished by the disorders of the kingdom, and could furnish nothing; the nobles offered nothing but their swords; and the *Tiers* directed their spokesman to say that he understood the union of all the subjects of the king was to be effected by *mild measures, and without war*. The scheme proved a mere mockery.

The Calvinists, meanwhile, at the news of this result, had resumed their arms. But, deprived of the support of the malcontents of the Catholic party, and differing among themselves, their affairs resulted badly. The Consistorials, at this time, were the most determined, because the question was, whether they should save or lose every right to the exercise of their religion. Earnest remonstrances were addressed to the nobility by the consistory of La Rochelle. Theodore de Bèze wrote from Geneva: "I cannot see how, in good conscience, we can consent to confine the Spirit of God to certain places; especially to preclude it from cities, which do not pass away, and change like the hearts and dwellings of princes. I cannot conceive that God can or will bless such arrangements; so that I would advise you to place your head upon the block, and to suffer every thing without resistance, if it must come to that, rather than to accept such conditions."

These complaints of the Consistorials were not heard, and the lords of the party signed the peace at Bergerac, in the month of September, 1577. The 8th of October following appeared the Edict of Poitiers, which granted to the mass of the Protestants only simple liberty of conscience, with the right of admission to public employments. The exercise of religion was limited to the places where it was practised at the moment of the signing of the treaty. Henry III. boasted of this edict as his personal work: he loved to say, *My edict, my treaty*; but it was no better observed than its predecessors.

XVI.

Catherine de Medici had planned a scheme for reducing, during the peace, the Huguenot nobles, whom they had not been able to conquer by arms: it was to corrupt them. She went through the provinces, attended by a grand retinue of maids-of-honor—they have sometimes been reckoned at one hundred and fifty—who were called her *flying squadron*. Wherever they went, balls, fêtes, gallantries, intrigues attended them, in the midst of which the former austerity of the companions of Coligny was forgotten.

So, under pretext of conducting Margaret of Valois to the home of her husband, the King of Navarre, Catherine started, in the month of July, 1578, for the southern provinces. The Bearnese, who had too much forgotten, in his long residence at the Louvre, the instructions of his mother, did not resist the seductions which surrounded him. "The court of the King of Navarre," says Agrippa d'Aubigné, "bloomed with brave nobles and accomplished women. Pleasure attracted vice, as heat attracts serpents. The Queen of Navarre brightened their

intellects, while she allowed their arms to rust. She taught the king, her husband, that a cavalier was without a soul when he was without love.”¹

The same historian tells us that Catherine de Medici affected to speak a language borrowed from the Bible. She had composed a vocabulary of the forms of speech common among the most rigid of the Reformed people, and used them, sometimes for policy, sometimes in derision. “She had learned by heart,” says he, “expressions which she called consistorial: as, *to approve the counsel of Gamaliel*; to say that *the feet of those who bring peace are beautiful*; to call the king *the anointed of the Lord, the image of the living God*; with many other sentences from the Epistle of St. Peter, in favor of rulers, crying out often: *Let God judge between you and us! I call God to witness! Before God and his Angels!* All this style, which was termed among the ladies the *language of Canaan*, was conned over in the evening, after the queen retired, not without much laughter.”²

Before and after the fêtes they held conferences, from which proceeded the explanatory treaty of Nérac, signed the 28th of February, 1579. It added nothing of importance to the Edict of Poitiers. The King of Navarre obtained only a few new places of security in Guyenne and Languedoc, on condition that he held them only for six months.

A court intrigue led to a new resort to arms, and this ridiculous quarrel was named the *war of the lovers*. The great body of the Protestants took no part in it. It was terminated by the concluding of a peace at the Château de Fleix, in Périgord, the 26th of November, 1580. This treaty confirmed the Edict of Poitiers; only, the Bearnese had gained the appanage given in dowry to his wife in Agenois and Quercy.

¹ L. IV. c. 5.

² L. IV. c. 8.

Four or five years now passed without open war, but without security or repose. At different times the Protestants sent to the court ample memorials of their grievances and remonstrances. The council promised every thing, and the next day troubled itself no more.

Another means was invented to weaken the Calvinist party, and it had more success than all the preceding: it was to place or drive the Huguenots beyond the pale of public employments. The Edict of Pacification allowed them, indeed, an equal right of admission to all public posts of honor and emolument; but a thousand pretexts were discovered for evading this condition. The persecution was secret and indirect, but systematic and constant.

Mezeray contends that these proceedings converted more of them in four years than the arms and the scaffold had done in forty. This is saying too much. It is certain, however, that many noblemen succumbed under the temptation of securing places or favors from the court. Some, according to the account of the historian Elias Benôit, ashamed themselves of abandoning their religion, made their children renounce it, alleging the duty of affection and paternal watchfulness. Others, on the contrary, declared themselves Catholics, in order to receive offices, and educated their children in the Reformed communion, in order, as they said, to tranquillize their consciences. Has the human heart ever lacked for sophisms when a passion was to be gratified?

But the zealous Catholics still complained, and accused the backwardness of Henry III. and Queen Catherine. The spirit of discontent increased on the death of the Duke of Alençon or d'Anjou, which happened in 1584. Henry III. had no children, and his physicians announced that he probably could not live another year. The race of the Valois was hastening to extinction. Who should succeed them? Henry de Bourbon, according to

the ancient laws of the kingdom. He was the nearest heir in the male line, and no one could contest with him the title of first prince of the blood. But a heretic, an apostate, a *relaps*, for they affected to consider as serious the abjuration which had been forced upon him at St. Bartholomew,—in fine, a man excommunicated by the Holy See,—could he ascend the throne of the most Christian kings? The very idea revolted three-fourths of the nation, and the League received an immense accession.

The *League* or *Holy Union* had already existed since the year 1576. It went even further back, and extended beyond the boundaries of France. The Cardinal of Lorraine had formed the plan of it at the Council of Trent; the Jesuits had revived and enlarged it; Philip II., the Popes, the Duke Henry de Guise, had successively put their hands to it; and by degrees the association so ramified itself, as to aspire to raising all Catholic Europe to crush the Protestants. It was in France that the first blow was to be struck.

After having exterminated the Huguenots, new crusaders would crush the rebels of Holland; then they would throw themselves in a body upon England, and afterwards upon Germany and the North,—never stopping till they had brought into the Church of Rome, or drowned in their own blood, the last disciples of Luther and Calvin. Colossal combat! deadly struggle! by which it was hoped to re-establish, upon mountains of corpses, the Unity of Catholicism!

Philip II. was the commander-in-chief of this vast conspiracy. In his retreat of St. Lorenzo, he constantly meditated, as his correspondence, lately published, attests, upon these grand and gloomy thoughts. He comprehended only two things in the universe: the sovereign authority of the Prince in temporal affairs, and the infallibility of the Pope in religious questions.

The right of resistance to temporal, the right of questioning spiritual power, were in his eyes the most detestable of crimes. All right centered, in his opinion, among a few chiefs: beyond or beneath them, nothing. To hold the people in slavery and fear, the brands of church and state were to be wielded together: he joined the axe of the executioner to the fagot of the inquisitor, and even the dagger of the assassin; for this most Catholic King stooped to the infamy of granting patents of nobility to the relative of Balthazar Gérard, the murderer of the Prince of Orange. Philip II. had conceived this execrable system of terror for the support of royalty and the pontificate. He reaped therefrom only the decline of Spain and the execration of posterity.

The Holy See felt an implacable resentment at the sight of heresy rising up constantly before it, and determined to re-establish at any cost a single faith and a single spiritual head. Cardinals, bishops, priests, Jesuits, and monks, of every order, disseminated these maxims of extermination among the courts and to the hearts of the people, by the pulpit and confessional.

In France, Henry de Guise, *le Balafré*, was the soul of the League. Concealed at first in the background, he disclosed himself gradually, as Henry III. made himself more despicable, and as he himself became more esteemed by the popular masses. He tried to be affable to the low; a sure friend, an implacable enemy; generous to those who did him service; prodigal of gold to the avaricious; lavish of promises to the ambitious, of attentions to the *bourgeois* and artisans of Paris, which flattered their vanity. Capable of profound dissimulation, he had the open and frank demeanor of a soldier. A great commander, he knew better how to gain opportune victories than to avail himself of them. He showed great zeal for the Church of Rome, but without falling into the abject devotions of Henry III.; and

always careful to press on his fortune, he took from religion only what he could make subservient to his own purposes.

One of the dependants of his family, Jacques d'Humières, was appointed in 1576 to recruit the number of adherents to the League in the towns of Picardy, and the confederation soon spread into all the provinces. There were a few differences in the articles which were presented to them to swear to and sign, but the basis was everywhere the same: mutual security among the members of the union; absolute obedience to the secret chief of the League; an engagement to sacrifice every thing, person and possessions, for the extermination of the heretics, and the re-establishment of the unity of religion.

For the rest, the confederation was composed of very distinctive elements. To the Guises it was a question of aggrandizement and power; to one part of the *bourgeoisie* and the magistracy, a means of public order; to another, a precaution against reprisals by the Calvinists upon the murderers and robbers of St. Bartholomew; to the artisans, a manifestation of antipathy against the Huguenots; finally, to the priests, an affair of religious domination. There were belonging to it, as always happens, honest men, who devoted themselves to the triumph of one idea; and ambitious or hypocritical, who took advantage of the sincerity of others. The more moderate were made to figure in the van, lest their honest souls should take the alarm; but the most passionate promised themselves to reap all the fruits of the conspiracy.

At Paris, the canon Launoy, the curates Prévôt and Boucher, and adventurers of all conditions, addressed themselves to the most inferior class of people: laborers in the slaughter-houses, sailors, horse-jockeys, street-porters; saying to them that the Huguenots wished to cut the throats of all good Catholics; and that ten thousand from among them were concealed in the fau-

bourg St. Germain, ready to begin the massacre. The most furious of the clubs took possession of the churches, and the preachers, monks, or doctors of the Sorbonne, instigated the people to the most bloody excesses, in proclaiming the will of Heaven. The same provocations were repeated throughout the kingdom, and the League, by these means, acquired a formidable extension.

Henry III., not daring to combat it openly, thought to make a masterly stroke by signing with his own hand the articles of union; but he only emboldened the League, and disgraced himself. From king he dwindled to a second-rate conjurer, and a conjurer contemned by his accomplices.

The League demanded that he should pronounce the exheredation of the King of Navarre, and appoint for his heir Cardinal de Bourbon, an old man more than sixty years of age, a personage of narrow mind, feeble character, a priest of little reputation, who had lived an effeminate and dissolute life. This cardinal had prepared the place for the Duke of Guise. Henry III. knew it: he knew, besides, that the Lorraines awaited only the occasion to give him the tonsure, and shut him in a cloister, as they had done the old sluggard kings.

In this extreme peril, Henry III. recovered some courage, and refused. The kingdom was then a prey to anarchy without the name. Authority, restraint, law—all were destroyed. The Leaguers published manifests in the name of Cardinal de Bourbon, and got possession, by treason or by force of arms, of Toul, Verdun, Lyons, Châlons, Bourges, and other important cities. Henry III., who had no army to oppose to them, made peace with the Duke of Guise, at the expense of the Huguenots. He promised, by the treaty of Nemours, signed in 1585, not only to deprive them of the public exercise of their religion, but, still more, liberty of conscience. Orders were given to all the ministers to leave the kingdom within one month, and to all the Re-

formers to abjure or emigrate at the expiration of six months, under pain of the confiscation of their property, and death. The term was soon reduced to fifteen days, as if they desired to take from these abjurations even the appearance of good faith.

Thus, in extinguishing the war on one side, it was kindled on the other. The question was no longer some contemptible court quarrel : it concerned liberty, faith, fortune, existence itself.

The Edict of Nemours was so rigorously executed, that the king rejected the petition of a few females, who solicited the grace of living with their children in some corner of France, which it might please his majesty to assign them. Henry III. promised only to have them transported, without insult or damage, to England. He himself had several women burned at Paris after the treaty. They had returned to the atrocious laws of Henry II.

Some timid Reformers attempted to find refuge behind such equivocal formulas as this : *Since it pleases the king*, etc., and they signed thus, not an abjuration, but an act of obedience to the royal will. The bishops perceived it, and became rigorous in their admissions. There was one, the Bishop of Angers, who directed the Huguenots to be received only after long instruction, and a diligent examination of their faith. So the Prince enjoined on them to be converted within fifteen days, and the clergy rejected those who were not thoroughly penetrated with the entire doctrine of Rome. Were not there contradictions enough here ?

Henry III. did not wish, however, utterly to crush the Calvinist party : he feared to give too much power to the League, and to the Duke of Guise. His more ardent desire was to ruin each of the two parties by means of the other ; and he was often heard to repeat, in a low voice, " I will revenge myself on my enemies, by my enemies."

Seeing that the king lacked vigor to persecute the heretics, Pope Sextus V. lost his patience, and fulminated against the Bourbons a bull of excommunication, which twenty-five cardinals signed with him. It set forth that Henry de Bourbon, formerly King of Navarre, and Henry, also of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, being heretics, relapsed into heresy, and not repentant, had forfeited all their principalities, themselves and their heirs forever. Should any one still dare to obey this *bastard and detestable generation of Bourbons*, and acknowledge as his sovereign the *ci-devant* king of the pretended kingdom of Navarre, he should incur the same excommunication. Never, in the most violent invectives against the *ci-devant king Louis Capet*, was the Convention of '93 so completely bereft of moderation and decency.

The Bearnese responded to this insolent bull, by causing to be posted in all the public places of Rome, on the 6th of November, 1585, a protestation beginning thus: "Henry, by the grace of God, king of Navarre, sovereign prince of Béarn, first peer and prince of France, resists the declaration and excommunication of Sextus V., *soi-disant* Pope of Rome, asserts it to be false, and appeals from the abuse to the court of the peers of France. And as to what respects the crime of heresy, of which he is falsely accused by the declaration, he asserts and maintains that *monsieur* Sextus, the *soi-disant* Pope, has falsely and maliciously lied, and that he himself is a heretic, which he will prove in a full council, freely and legitimately assembled." We are assured that Sextus V., astonished at an act so bold, began then to respect his adversary.

XVII.

The Prince of Condé was the first in the saddle. Still young, and full of zeal for the religion, he was impatient to merit the high place which his birth had given him. But he had less military talents than courage: he crossed the Loire on false indications, and having advanced too far, he lost at the gates of Angers the first army which was raised against the Leaguers.

In Languedoc, the Duke de Montmorency—the old Marshal Damville—renewed his alliance with the Calvinist party, and there were no rencounters in this province but those of partisans. Lesdiguières, at the head of the Huguenots of Dauphiny, took possession of several fortified places, and held the whole country under his influence. The King of Navarre maintained himself in the Guyenne. Henry III. did not press him. He proposed to him to change his religion, in order to withdraw from the League his most formidable obstacle; and Catherine de Medici, always prompt to open negotiations, came to confer with the Bearnese at the close of the year 1586, at the Château of St. Bris, near Cognac. But her Italian artifices, this time, had no success.

Hostilities continued without striking events till the battle of Contras. The two armies met, October 20th, 1587. They presented a singular contrast. On the side of the Calvinists, five or six thousand men only, badly clothed with tattered buffalo-skins, with no other ornaments than their faithful sword and good cuirass. On the side of the Catholics, commanded by the Duke de Joyeuse, ten or twelve thousand men, the flower of the court, clothed in silk and velvets, with arms chiselled in silver and enamel, lances adorned with large streamers, waving plumes,

and bearing on their sashes the devices of ladies. The former were soldiers inured to fatigue and fire ; the latter, elegant cavaliers, who seemed to have come to attend a tournament.

Some days before the battle, at the instance of the faithful Mornay, Henry publicly testified his repentance for having brought dishonor upon a family of La Rochelle. And as some one said to him that the ministers had reproved him more severely than was necessary, he replied : " We cannot be too humble before God, nor too brave before men."

At the moment of combat, the Reformers kneeled down, and chanted the 118th Psalm : *This is the blessed day*, etc. " By Death !" cried out the nobles of the camp of Joyeuse, " they tremble, the poltroons, they confess !" " Messieurs," said an old officer to them, " when the Huguenots get into that position, they are ready for hard fighting."

They did, indeed, fight valiantly, and the rout of the Catholics was complete. The Duke of Joyeuse lost his own life, with the half of his army. The Bearnese was humane after the victory : he ordered the wounded to be cared for, restored nearly all the prisoners without ransom, and testified his sorrow for the great effusion of French blood.

At the news of the defeat, the rage of the League against Henry III. was redoubled, and the doctors of the Sorbonne decided in a secret meeting to take the crown from an incapable prince, as the administration is from a suspected guardian. All eyes were turned towards the Duke of Guise, who had cut to pieces a numerous army, sent from Germany to succor the Huguenots.

The popularity of Balafre became immense. The Pope sent him a sword he had blessed ; Philip II. and the Duke of Savoy addressed him congratulations, and the Parisians, excited by the cries of the priests, proclaimed him the saviour of the Church.

He showed himself grateful for the support of the clergy; for, in a family assembly at Nancy, he decided to propose to the king the publication of the canons of the Council of Trent, and to establish the holy Inquisition in France: "a proper means," said the manifesto, "of dispatching the heretics, provided the officers of the Inquisition were foreigners."

From the fanaticism of the priests and the people sprung the day of the *Barricades*, the 12th of May, 1588. Henry de Guise was borne in triumph to the Louvre; and the king, threatened with the loss of even his liberty, took flight under a peasant's garb, with some foot-servants, swearing in his heart the death of him whom he called the *King of Paris*.

Five months after, he opened the second States-General of Blois, who were all adherents of the League. He declared by the most solemn oaths that he would labor for the entire extirpation of heresy, and that no one would be more ardent than himself. But they had no belief in his word. The Duke of Guise alone possessed the confidence of the States, and he had to mount but one step to seat himself on the throne of France.

Henry III. foresaw it, and had him assassinated the 23d of December, by his nobles. "Ah! my friends, ah! my friends," cried Balafre, as he felt himself pierced by a stiletto, "mercy!" When all was over, the king came out of his cabinet. He asked one of the murderers: "Does he appear to you to be dead, Loignac?" "Yes, I believe it, Sire, for he has the color of death." And Henry III., having contemplated his victim a moment, gave him a kick in the face. If there had remained in the Duke of Guise the last breath of life, he would have remembered the murder of Coligny.

Henry III. descended to his mother's chamber, where she lay sick. "The King of Paris is no more, madam," said he to her: "hereafter I shall reign alone: I have no longer a colleague."

"It is well cut, my son," replied Catherine, "but it must be sewed up: have you taken your precautions?"

She died herself twelve days after, leaving her last son with a crown half broken, a kingdom in flames, and a nation in distress. Catherine de Medici carried to her tomb only the execration of the Calvinists and the scorn of the Catholics. "No one cared for her, in her sickness or in her death," says L'Estoile, "and they made no more account of her than of a dead goat." Lincaster, one of the preachers of the League, said to the people, in announcing the news: "To-day we encounter a difficulty: to know whether the Church should pray for her who lived so badly, and often encouraged heresy; in regard to which I will say to you, if you wish to give her, at a venture, for charity, a *pater* and an *ave*, it will serve her what it can." Behold the fruit of thirty years of intrigues, treasons, and crimes!

The murder of the Duke of Guise dug an abyss between the king and the Leaguers. Seventy theologians of the Sorbonne, after celebrating the mass of the Holy Spirit, bound the people with an oath of fidelity. The priests made a procession of a hundred thousand children who bore burning wax-tapers: they extinguished them under their feet, saying, "God grant that the race of the Valois may soon be entirely annihilated!" Horrible imprecations against Henry III. were vomited forth from the pulpits; they openly pointed out the regicide, and one of the preachers declared that France could relieve herself from the malady only by a draught of French blood.

Reduced to the greatest extremity, and forced to shut himself up in the city of Tours as his last asylum, Henry III. tendered his hand to the Calvinists, who held the country on the other side of the Loire.

These men had lately attempted no considerable enterprise. They had lost, in the month of March, 1588, Henry de Condé,

their second chief in rank, the first perhaps in the confidence with which he inspired them. This prince died at St. Jean d'Angely, at the age of thirty-four years. His death, so sudden, and accompanied with such strange symptoms, gave room for suspicions of poison, which were confirmed by the opening of the body. They accused his wife, Princess Charlotte de la Trémoille, a new convert, who was surrounded by a family of fanatical Catholics. This affair was afterwards brought before the parliament of Paris, but never fully cleared up.

While the League were holding the States-General at Blois, the Calvinists had convoked a political assembly at La Rochelle. It opened the 14th of November, 1588, in the city hall. The King of Navarre was present, with the Viscount of Turenne, the Prince of Trémoille, and other lords of the party. There was more order and more respect for authority in this assembly than in that of Blois. They passed regulations for the administration of justice, the finances, the levying of soldiers, military discipline, and upon all subjects which concerned the common cause. Before they broke up, the deputies addressed a petition to Henry III., in which they demanded the re-establishment of the Edict of January.

After the death of the Duke of Guise, the Bearnese addressed a manifesto to the three estates of France, in which he protested that he was always true to his duty to the king, and invited the French to concord. "I conjure you all, therefore, by these presents," said he, in closing, "as well Catholic servants of the king, as those who are not—I appeal to you as a Frenchman, I charge you to have pity on the State and on yourselves. We have all done and suffered evil enough. We have been four years intoxicated, insensate, and furious. Is not this sufficient? Has not God smitten us all enough to make us wise at last, and to allay our fury?"

Both kings had an equal interest in effecting a reconciliation, but on both sides there were long hesitations. Could Henry III. give his hand to his oldest enemies? And would he not justify, in calling them to his aid, all the reproaches of the Leaguers, who accused him of having never broken off from the Huguenots? And on their side, did not the Calvinists know that the hatred of Henry III. towards the heresy still lived as strong as ever, and that he would never be heartily reconciled with the brothers and sons of those who had wrought the massacre of St. Bartholomew? Could they ever forget that strange, that dishonorable declaration of Henry III. before the States of Blois, that although he should promise with the most solemn oaths to spare the heretics, they would not believe it? But these mutual repugnances still yielded to necessity.

The 30th of April, 1589, the two kings had their first interview at the Château of Plessis-les-Tours, an old manor of Louis XI. The Bearnese gave an order to cross the water to a part of his nobles, and entered the boat with his guards. During the passage, he said only these words to the Marshal d'Aumont, who had come to him on the part of the king: "Monsieur Marshal, I go upon your word." On reaching the other shore he knelt before Henry III., who raised him up, embracing him.

The same day, he wrote to Mornay: "The ice has been broken, not without a number of warnings that if I went, I was dead." His faithful servant replied to him: "Sire, you have done what you should, but what no one could have advised you to do."

Henceforth the affairs of Henry III. took a favorable turn. The Leaguers were beaten in several battles. An army of forty-two thousand men, commanded by the two kings, advanced to the gates of Paris, and prepared for a general assault. The Duke de Mayenne had nothing but eight thousand disheartened

soldiers. The officers of the League began to lose all hope; the priests were desponding; the Protestants were looking to a better future, when the knife of a Dominican monk, Jacques Clément, reversed at once the hopes and fears of all parties.

Henry III. died of his wound, in eighteen hours, the 2d of August, 1589. In him the race of the Valois became extinct. Francis I. met a dishonorable death; Henry II. was mortally wounded in a tournament; Francis II. did not reach the age of manhood; Charles IX. expired in the convulsions of an unknown malady; the Duke of Alençon expired in the midst of debauchery and opprobrium; Henry III. perished by assassination. The Valois bear on their forehead the ineffaceable mark of St. Bartholomew.

If history should not be a simple object of curiosity, is it not proper to speak of the religious ideas and morals of that court where a fanatical intolerance reigned?

They gave a *rendezvous* to astrologers, after mass, to compose philters and poisons. All the magic arts, all the sorceries, brought from Italy by Catherine de Medici, were held in honor. Courtiers had in their cabinets little figures of wax, whose hearts they pierced with pins, while they pronounced cabalistic words, that they might, as they thought, destroy their enemies.

Religious ceremonies served to provoke the vilest and most bloody passions. The sermons of the priests of the League were torches which set the whole kingdom on fire. Processions were intended to inflame the ferocity of the people, and often presented impious and sensual spectacles. At Chartres, after the day of the Barricades, a Capuchin represented before Henry III. the Saviour ascending Calvary. He was painted with drops of blood which seemed to flow from his head, crowned with thorns; he appeared to carry, with suffering, a cross of painted pasteboard, and uttered, at intervals amid his groans, lamentable cries. At

Paris, after the assassination of the Duke of Guise, men, women, young girls, covered only with a chemise or winding-sheet, made nightly processions; and in the midst of sacred chants, they delivered themselves up to saturnalia, worthy of the Pagan world in its worst days.

The soldiers of the League, who carried arms blessed by the priests, committed infamous acts, even on the steps of Catholic altars. We will not relate what they did in the Church of St. Symphorian, in that of Arquenay, and in a multitude of others.

Such was the religion of the king; the religion of the court; the religion of the clergy; the religion of the people and the soldiers: miserable mockery!

Morals were on the same level. Cardinal Lorraine and most of the prelates shamelessly violated all the laws of chastity. Balafre was returning from a night of debauchery when he was assassinated. Margaret of Valois, the Princess of Condé, the Duchesses of Nemours, Guise, Montpensier, Nevers, lived a dissolute life. Two of them ordered the decapitated heads of their lovers to be brought to them, kissed them, embalmed them, and each preserved her own among her relics of love. It is known how the Duchess of Montpensier, sister of Henry de Guise, nerved the arm of Jacques Clément.

Everywhere was a hideous *mélange* of blood and superstition. The grand *seigneurs* kept hired assassins and duellists, who killed themselves for a pastime, without remorse, without pity, every day, two against two, four against four, a hundred against a hundred, and it was as easy to procure the address of a murderer or a poisoner, as it is at this day that of an inn-keeper.

One word more: the assassin, the regicide, Jacques Clément, was canonized in all the pulpits as *the blessed son of Dominic, the holy martyr of Jesus Christ*. His portrait was placed over the altars with these words: *Saint Jacques Clément, prier pour*

nous. When his mother came to Paris, the monks applied to her these words of the Evangelist: *Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps thou hast sucked*. And Pope Sextus V.—the crowning infamy—declared, in full consistory, that the act of the martyr Jacques Clément was comparable, for the salvation of the world, with the Incarnation and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹

A Church which has pronounced such blasphemies by the mouth of its head, should ask pardon forever of God and men. It should also bless the principle of tolerance which the Reformation and philosophy have imposed upon it; for it is this alone which prevents a return to such degrading scenes.

XVIII.

Religion was only an accessory in the war of Henry IV. against the League, and in other events of this epoch. We do not intend to relate them: they appertain to the general history of the country, not to ours.

Thirty years before, the accession of a Calvinist prince to the crown would, perhaps, have made the Reformation triumph in France; but in 1589 all was changed. Far from having improved, the affairs of the Reformers were compromised. Henry of Navarre, as lieutenant of Henry III., could dictate his conditions; he was obliged as king to accept those of the Catholics. He apprehended their desertion, while he did not fear to be abandoned by his co-religionists. So he did little for his friends,

¹ Vide De Thou, l. XCVI. t. VII. p. 495, and the memoirs of the sixteenth century. Among the moderns, see the *Etudes histor.* of M. de Châteaubriand, t. IV. p. 371. "It concerned this Pope," he said, very truly, in reference to these *sacrilegious comparisons*, "to encourage fanatics ready to kill kings in the name of the papal power."

much for others, according to that old court maxim, that one should satisfy his enemies at the expense of sure friends.

Before taking the oath of fidelity, the Catholic lords demanded that he should enter the communion of the Roman Church. It was the Marquis d'O., superintendent of finance, who carried him the message: singular selection for a religious mission! This ancient *minion* of Henry III., one of the most despicable and despised men of the kingdom, had revolted courtiers themselves by the two-fold cynicism of his language and his conduct. He declared, however, in the name of the nobility, that he would prefer to throw himself on his sword rather than to allow the ruin of Catholicism in France.

Henry IV. refused to change his religion at once. - "Would it please you better," said he to the Catholic noblesse, - "to have a king without God! Will you rest confident in the faith of an atheist! And in the day of battles, will you follow gladly the banner of a perjurer and an apostate?" After long conferences, he promised only *to take instruction* during a delay of six months.

These words were understood in two very different ways. The promise to gain instruction was equivalent with the Catholics to an engagement to enter the Church of Rome: with the Protestants, on the contrary, it was only the duty of examining anew the points of controversy, and espousing sincerely the part of truth. As for Henry IV., it appeared that he had already resolved to receive instruction, not from doctors, but from events.

At the end of a few weeks, his army was reduced to almost nothing. From forty thousand men there remained only six or seven thousand, and he was compelled to turn towards Normandy. The Duke d'Epemon and other Catholic chiefs had retired with their troops, saying that they could not serve under a Huguenot leader. Those who remained, wanted compensation for their services in great personal favors. The Calvinist leaders

were more faithful and less exacting. We distinguish among them Duke de Bouillon, sovereign of the principality of Sédan; François de Châtillon, son of Admiral Coligny; Duke Claude de la Trémouille, Jacques Caumont de la Force, Agrippa d'Aubigné, Lanoue, Rosny, and Mornay. The last had a great share of his master's confidence.

Philip de Mornay, lord of Plessis, was born at the Castle of Buzi, in the ancient French Vexin, in 1549, and was educated by his mother in the doctrines of the Reformation. He was only twelve years of age, when he replied to a priest, who exhorted him to guard against the opinions of the Lutherans: "I am resolved to remain firm in what I have learned of the service of God, and when I doubt any point, I will diligently read the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles."

His uncle, Bishop of Nantes, and afterwards Archbishop of Rheims, counselled him to read the Fathers of the Church, and offered him, with the revenues of a rich abbey, the prospect of succeeding to his see. Mornay read the Fathers, who far from disturbing his faith, strengthened it; and he said to his uncle, in refusing the abbey: "I trust to God for what I need."

He did not belie in the sequel the disinterestedness of his youth. Animated with strong and unwavering convictions, modest in prosperity, patient in adversity, always ready to offer his fortune and his life to the service of his faith, Duplessis-Mornay exhibited to the world one of the noblest and most upright characters which have honored the Christian Church. He has been surnamed the Pope of the Huguenots; it would be nearer the truth, had he been called the model of one.

His talents equalled his piety. A warrior, a sage, diplomatist, orator, publicist, a learned theologian, an able writer, working fourteen hours daily, and manifesting in the most diverse matters an equal superiority,—we cannot indicate a species of merit

in which he did not excel, except that he did not advance his own fortune.

Escaping, as by a miracle, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Mornay fled into England, where he met with a kind reception from Queen Elizabeth. The Duke of Anjou, becoming King of Poland, and wishing to give pledges of tolerance to the Protestant Poles, proposed to him a place in his councils. "I will never enter," said he, "the service of those who have shed the blood of my brethren."

The call of the Bearnese found him better disposed to comply. He went to see this prince, then poor and feeble, in his little court of Agen; and these two men, so different in character, habits, and conduct, bound themselves together with an affection which was more than once disturbed, but never entirely extinguished. Henry had need of Mornay,—of his prudence, his attachment, even his severity; and Mornay, whatever reproaches he addressed him, saw in his master the man raised up by Heaven to defend the Protestant cause.

His official duties at the court of Agen and Nerac were also as varied as his genius. In the petty wars continually arising between Henry III. and the Bearnese, he performed the office of captain, engineer, field-marshal, paymaster of the army; and instead of gaining from it, he contributed much of his own property. Then, under a tent, he took the pen, and composed, with admirable promptitude, diplomatic notes, memorials, manifests, replies to the Catholics, remonstrances to the Reformers. In the councils, he prepared the addresses of the King of Navarre, and furnished him with arguments calculated to content suspicious and distrustful men.

He also went to the court of France to defend the interests of his co-religionists. Henry III. asked him one day how a man of his science and his capacity could be a Huguenot? "Have

you never read," said he to him, "the Catholic doctors?" "Not only have I read the Catholic doctors," responded Mornay, "but I have read them with eagerness, for I am flesh and blood, like other men, and I was not born without ambition. I should have been very glad to find something to flatter my conscience, that I might participate in the favors and honors you distribute, and from which my religion excludes me. But, above all, I have found something which fortifies my faith; and the world must yield to conscience." Noble words: very strange in the court of the Valois and Catherine de Medici.

After the death of Henry III., Mornay was, next to Henry IV., the organ of those who had the most decided faith and upright intentions—the reformed consistories.

The Baron of Rosny, afterwards Duke of Sully, represented the party of the political Calvinists or compromisers. A great minister of state, an able and upright financier, he contributed more than any other person to repair the fatal consequences of the civil wars under the reign of Henry IV.; and if nations measured glory by good deeds, his would be immeasurable. He also showed intrepid courage, when it was necessary to prevent the Bearnese from allowing his weaknesses to compromise the dignity of his crown. But in religious matters, he was wanting in convictions; and without quitting himself the churches of the Reformation, he powerfully contributed to make his king do it. "He was," says an historian of ours, "one of those resolute spirits, who rise above every thing when the service of his king requires it, so that his religion had only appearances, and these were very superficial."¹

The old Huguenot chiefs gathered around Henry IV. in great numbers at the battle of Ivry; and he remembered, in the hour

¹ Elias Benoit, *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, t. I. p. 121.

of danger, the instructions of his pious mother. Lifting his eyes to heaven, he called God to witness his rights. "But, Lord," said he, "if it pleases thee to dispose otherwise, or if thou seest that I should be one of those kings on whom thou dost lay thy wrath, take my life with my crown, and let my blood be the last poured out in this quarrel!"

The battle was won; but the Calvinists were in a situation no less critical and uncertain. They had no legal state; a simple possession, in fact, of the places where they were strong enough to defend themselves: nowhere had they possession by law. No edict, given according to regular forms, had abolished the ordinances of extermination pronounced against them. The parliaments could, on the terms of existing ordinances, direct the seizure of the persons of the Calvinists, and condemn them to banishment or death. The king caused the Reformed worship to be celebrated in his camp: two leagues distant it was punished as a crime. Duplessis sums up the state of things in two words: "They always had the rope around their necks."

Many complained; and finding their petitions disdained, proposed, in an assembly held at St. Jean d'Angely, to choose another *protector* for the churches. Henry IV. felt himself wounded; but the faithful Mornay answered him by earnest representations: "What! we do not wish to revoke authoritatively the edicts of proscription, and yet the Protestants are counselled to be patient! Have they not been so for fifty years! And does the service of the king require that they should be patient in things of this nature? Must not children be baptized! Must not marriages be consecrated? Every hour of delay brings trouble and suffering. If three families pray together for the prosperity of the king, if an artisan chants a psalm in his shop, or a bookseller sells a Bible in French,—behold the articles of persecution! The judges reply, Such is the law. Well! then

the law must be changed. To such evils prompt remedies are demanded."

The king saw that he would encounter a twofold peril by persisting in his denial of justice: at home, because the Protestants would seek, at length, other protection than his; beyond the frontiers, because the Protestant powers would refuse him their support. He therefore adopted in his council, in the month of July, 1591, an edict of tolerance, known under the name of the Edict of Nantes, which re-established the Protestants in the condition they held in 1577: a very moderate concession, since he granted no more than Henry III. had done. Still this ordinance did not pass without difficulty, and it was never fully observed, especially in what concerned admission to offices of trust.

We may judge of the fanaticism which reigned even in the camp of Henry IV., by the following illustration: several Calvinists having been killed at the last siege of Rouen, they were buried promiscuously with the Catholics; but the priests had them dug up, and ordered their bodies to be given as food to the beasts of the field. So, men who had fought under the same standard could not sleep in the same soil.

XIX.

The League, however, as it felt itself growing feeble, redoubled its violence. They had called to Paris Spanish and Neapolitan bands of soldiers, and the preachers, in obscene or atrocious language, demanded thousands of heads. The prior of Sorbonne, Jean Boucher, said that they must put hand to the knife and kill all, exterminate all; the Bishop Rose, that another St. Bartholomew bleeding was necessary, and thus they would cut the throat of the malady; the Jesuit Commolet, that the death of

politicians was the life of the Catholics ; and the curate of St. André, that he would lead the way to butcher them.

Pope Gregory XIV. sent, at the same time, warnings to the Catholics of France, threatening with severe punishments those who had taken the oath of fidelity to Henry de Béarn, the excommunicated heretic. These bulls, worthy of the age of Robert the Devout, appeared so enormous, the Parliaments of Tours and Châlons declared them scandalous, seditious, contrary to the rights of the Gallican Church, and burnt them by the hand of the executioner.

But the six months, at the end of which Henry IV. had promised to inform himself, had long since expired. The campaign had lasted nearly four years, without producing any perceptible progress in the king's affairs. The Catholics who had attached themselves to his fortune earnestly pressed him to change his religion ; the bishops, because they were censured at Rome, and desired to wash away the reproach of infidelity ; the nobles, because they were impatient to receive recompense for their services ; members of the parliaments, and the privy council, because they comprehended reasons of state better than scruples of conscience. The most part, however, were disposed to be content with the form : it sufficed them that they could tell the multitude that the King of France attended mass.

The Abbé Duperron, afterwards Bishop of Evreux and Cardinal, an intriguing and shrewd man, a fluent orator, spoke in this manner to Henry IV., giving little place to theology, but much to politics.

Gabrielle d'Estrées added the weight of an influence more direct and intimate. She disliked the Calvinists, who had often addressed her severe words. The Bearnese, however, overcome by his foolish passion, had given her a glimpse of the throne. Now, *in order to marry again, he must be unmarried,*

a thing which the Pope only could effect for him without exciting scandal.

The king himself, whose *soul was enervated by voluptuousness*, in the energetic expression of a contemporary, and who had never had any very firm religious principles, waited only the day and the occasion. The sole question with him, after his accession to the crown, was to abjure at the right time ; that is to say, to gain the Catholics without losing the Reformers.

Among the latter, many noblemen, wearied with the war, showed themselves favorable to his policy. Sully gave them an example. "That you should wait for me, being a Protestant," said he to Henry IV., "to counsel you to go to mass, is a thing you should not do ; although I will boldly declare to you that it is the prompt and easy way of destroying all malign projects. You will meet no more enemies, sorrows, nor difficulties in this world ; as to the other," continued he, smiling, "I do not answer for that." Upon which the king began to laugh also.

Sully relates in his *Economies royales* how he had invented a sophism which allowed him to pass, with a clear conscience, from the Reformed communion to the Roman Church. The king called him to him very early one morning, and made him sit near his bed, and asked his advice. Sully, at first, mentioned political reasons ; and as *the king scratched his head, in great perplexity*, he continued in these terms : "I hold it certain that whatever be the exterior form of the religion men profess, if they live in the observation of the decalogue, believe in the creed of the Apostles, love God with all their heart, have charity towards their neighbor, hope in the mercy of God, and to obtain salvation by the death, merits, and justice of Jesus Christ, they cannot fail to be saved."

This is what furnished Henry IV. the surest part of his famous argument : the Catholics affirming that there was no salvation

but in their communion, and the Calvinists admitting that one may be saved out of theirs. But the question had been unfairly put by Sully : the question was not about the only faith, but the best faith ; and whenever he spoke of one's dying in the observance of the decalogue, which forbids false-witness, he counselled the king to do an act of fraud and hypocrisy ; the one half of his argumentation overturned the other. Evidently he could convict no mind but that which had already been convinced by reasons of an entirely different order.

Duplessis gave him contrary counsels, and had undertaken the serious instruction of the king. He wished to discuss before him the mooted points of religion with the most accredited doctors, and to recommence in some manner the Colloquy of Poissy. He had invited the principal theologians of the Reformation each to study one of the questions in controversy, that all might come well armed before their opponents. Henry IV., "the most cunning and the most astute prince living," says Agrippa d'Aubigné, who had lived thirty years in close intimacy with him, allowed Mornay to proceed, and even engaged him to choose his champions without delay.

The Catholic lords were mistaken, and offered to Mornay twenty thousand crowns, on condition that he would no more awaken the scruples of the king. "The conscience of my master is not for sale," said he to them, "neither is mine." Beautiful reply, but which was true only on one side.

Despairing of seducing him, the politicians supplicated Henry IV. to drive him from his presence. But having come by chance suddenly into one of their cabals : "It is hard, gentlemen," said Mornay, "to prevent a master from speaking to a faithful servant. The proposals which I offer him are such that I can pronounce them distinctly before you all. I propose to him to serve God with a good conscience, to keep him in view in every ac-

tion ; to quiet the schism which is in his State by a holy reformation of the Church ; to be an example to all Christendom, for all posterity. Are these things to be spoken in a corner ? Do you wish me to counsel him to go to mass ? You do him wrong in believing that he does not do it. With what conscience shall I advise, if I do not first go myself ? And what is religion, if it can be laid aside like a shirt ?”

Astonished at such courage and virtue, the Marshal d'Aumont exclaimed : “You are better than we, Monsieur Duplessis, and if I said, two days since, that it was necessary to give you a pistol-shot in the head, I say to-day entirely the contrary, that you should have a statue.”

We may be surprised that the judicious Mornay, who had seen the king so near and so long, had so good an opinion of his firmness. But he had the sublime *naïveté* of men of great faith ; and besides, Henry IV. brought into this affair—we regret to say it of the most popular of our kings—a consummate duplicity. He had even invited the Protestants of France to fast and pray that God might bless the pretended conferences which had just opened, and he had said to the pastors assembled at Saumur : “If you learn of any excess on my part, you can believe something of it ; for I am a man, subject to great infirmities ; but if any one tells you that I am turned from the religion, believe nothing of it : I will die in it !” Three months after, he abjured it at St. Denis.

The 22d of July, 1593, the Archbishop of Bourges, and other dignitaries of the Roman clergy, came into the presence of the king. It had been agreed that they only should speak. We have a curious proof of it from a letter in which the Bishop of Chartres was assured that he could *come securely, without being troubled about theology*. For greater security they had removed Mornay.

Henry IV. afterwards explained the reason of the exclusion of the pastors. His party had gone too far, said he; why then expose the advocates of the Reformation to an infallible defeat? If they had come to the conferences, the bishops would have boasted that they had vanquished them; in not coming there, the pastors preserved the right of saying that they had not been heard. Thus it is that sometimes the most serious affairs of this world are managed.

The 23d of July, the Archbishop of Bourges pronounced before the king a discourse which lasted from six to eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The Bearnese only interrupted him from time to time to ask some elucidations; but if he raised an objection, he took care to add, that he submitted entirely to the authority of the Roman Church: a method more worthy of a jesting philosopher than a king. It was a scene arranged beforehand. Henry IV. had written to Gabrielle d'Estrées: "I began this morning to speak to the bishops. On Sunday I shall take the perilous leap."

They had prepared an act of abjuration, in which the king rejected one after another all the doctrines of the Protestant faith. But he was unwilling to sign it, and they contented themselves with a vague assent, in six lines, to the articles of the Roman Church. Nevertheless, by a deception which resembles an act of forgery, and which exhibits the character of the times, Loménie counterfeited the signature of the king upon the first of the two formularies which was to be sent to the Pope.

Sunday, the 25th of July, 1593, at eight o'clock in the morning, the king presented himself at the great door of the Church St. Denis, attended by the princes and officers of the crown. At the entrance were the prelates, who waited with the cross, the book of the Evangelists, and the holy water. "Who are you?" said the Archbishop of Bourges to him. "I am the king."

"What do you ask?" "I ask to be admitted into the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church." "Do you desire it *sincerely*?" "Yes, I wish it; I desire it." Then, placing himself on his knees, he pronounced the formula agreed upon, and the archbishop gave him absolution and the benediction. The priests chanted grand mass, and, to terminate the ceremony, the Cardinal of Bourbon brought to the king the book of the Gospels to kiss.

This, then, is what has been called the conversion of Henry IV.; an affair of politics, female influence, priestly fiction, falsehood from beginning to end.

XX.

The act of abjuration did not at once bring the Leaguers to submission. The ambassador of Spain scattered gold with full hands. The legate pretended that to the Pope alone belonged the right of reconciling an excommunicate with the Church, and the States-General of the League swore obedience to the decretals of the Holy See. Boucher pronounced nine sermons against the *feigned conversion* of the Bearnese, declaring the bishops of St. Denis traitors, their prayers anathemas, and the mass chanted before the heretics a miserable farce. All the preachers of the faction of sixteen sanctioned openly the murder of the king, and they soon saw the fruits of their provocations. Jean Barrière in 1593, and the year after Jean Châtel, attempted to assassinate the king. A decree of parliament exiled the company of Loyola from the kingdom; it returned to give birth to Ravallac.

But the mass of the nation accepted as true and sincere the abjuration of Henry IV., for they longed for repose. The chiefs of the League having lost the hope of victory, now dreamed only

of selling themselves as dear as possible. It cost the king enormous sums, and the Protestants were almost everywhere sacrificed in the capitulation. Rouen, Meaux, Poitiers, Agen, Beauvais, Amiens, St. Malo, and many other towns, large and small, stipulated, in making their submission, that the preaching of the Huguenots should be prohibited in their precincts and suburbs. Paris extended the interdiction to ten leagues from its gates. The king opposed much resistance to these demands, but he ended by granting every thing.

They watched with a jealous eye the least indication of attachment the Bearnese might give to his former co-religionists, and he was obliged to be on his guard how he pressed the hands of loyal men who had defended his crown at the price of their blood.

Hence they began again to speak of a new *protector*, notwithstanding the earnest protestations of Henry IV., who called himself the natural and legitimate protector of all his subjects. Duplessis loyally supported the remonstrances of the king, but addressed to him, in his turn, grave complaints. "See, Sire," he wrote to him, "by what steps they have led you to the mass. Those who are believed by every man not to believe in God, have made you swear to images and relics, purgatory and indulgences. Your poor subjects see you going by the same way, still further. They see that you make submission to Rome. They know that there can be no absolution without penitence. The Pope, on the first opportunity, will send you the blessed sword, and impose on you the order to make war upon heretics, and under this name will comprehend the most Christian, the most loyal Frenchmen."

Clement VIII. demanded, indeed, as the price of his absolution, the abrogation of the edicts of tolerance, the exclusion of heretics from all public offices, and the pledge to exterminate

them as soon as peace can be made with the League and Spain. This time Henry IV. revolted. He answered by D'Ossat and Duperron, that he would be accused of shamelessness and ingratitude, if, after having received such signal services from the Protestants, he pursued them, and forced them to take arms against his person.

The Pope and the king effected an understanding with the aid of equivocal terms, and the 16th of September, 1595, the two ambassadors of Henry IV. kneeled under the portico of St. Peter's. They chanted the *miserere*, and at the close of every verse they received for their master the blows of a little stick or switch on their shoulders. The Spaniards laughed at them, and the best of the French Catholics were indignant.

The king continued to reward the Reformers with fair words only. He said to them, secretly, that he trusted them more than the others, and he even attempted to justify the privileges he had granted to the Catholics by the parable of the prodigal son, for whom his father had killed the fatted calf. "This is well," replied the deputies of the churches; "but treat us as the son who has always been faithful, and to whom the father said, *All that I have is thine*. To despoil the obedient son of his legitimate rights, to give them to one who has trampled under foot paternal authority—this is not the spirit of the parable of the Lord."

The king could find no answer to this, except by new exhortations to patience. "You shall have satisfaction," said he to them, "when I become master of myself." But patience was very difficult in the miserable condition of the Reformers. Excluded from all public offices, maltreated, persecuted, having nowhere to call on God in peace, without security in their own houses, deprived of their former protector, and forbidden to name another, they resolved at last, with the silent authorization of the king, to provide for their affairs by themselves, and they

convoked political assemblies. The first was held at St. Foy, in the month of May, 1594.

These assemblies should not be confounded with the Synods. In the latter, pastors and lay delegates were equal in number, and ordinarily occupied themselves with the interests of the Church alone. In the political assemblies the laity were a great majority, and discussed only affairs of the State.

Assemblies of this kind had existed during the wars of religion; but they henceforth assumed a more regular organization, and adopted the resolution to assemble at definite intervals.

France was divided into ten circumscriptions, each of which appointed a deputy to form the *general council*. They borrowed from the States-General their distinction of three orders. The general council was to be composed of four noblemen, four members of the *Tiers-Etats*, and two pastors. When the number of members reached thirty, there were to be twelve delegates of the noblesse, twelve representatives of the *Tiers-Etats*, and six pastors. The president was to be a layman, the vice-president an ecclesiastic. Half the council were changed every six months. Dukes, lieutenant-generals, and other personages of high rank, took part in the deliberations without being delegates, when they had the permission of the assembly.

Below the general council were the *provincial councils*, composed of from five to seven members, chosen equally from the three orders. One governor of a place, and a pastor, at least, should be members.

These councils were charged with preserving harmony among the Reformers; raising money for the necessities of the cause, and of furnishing employment; providing garrisons and munitions for towns of refuge; in fine, with doing all that was judged necessary for the defence of the common interests. The deputies took the oath of obedience, and the members of the churches

were obliged to respect the decisions of the general and subordinate assemblies. There was a permanent fund of forty-five thousand crowns furnished by the contributions of the faithful.

The general council received the memoirs and complaints of the provincial councils, sent them to the court, discussed with the commissaries of the king the terms of new edicts, and endeavored to establish, upon bases less precarious, the free exercise of religion.

Judging from present circumstances and ideas, nothing was more contrary to good order than this organization; it was, as we have remarked elsewhere, a state within a State. But to appreciate justly the institution of the political assemblies, we must recall the fact, that the Reformers of France were excluded from the common law. The intolerant dogma of Catholicism regarded them no longer as Frenchmen. They were looked upon as foreigners; still worse, as enemies, and treated as such. The king was obliged to negotiate with a part of his subjects at their expense. The Pope demanded their extermination. The bishops had forced Henry to take the sacred oath: "I will endeavor with all my power, in good faith, to drive from my jurisdiction and estates all the heretics denounced by the Church;" and yet this was a mitigated formulary which the prelates had approved only from necessity. The public authority attacked and condemned the Protestants as malefactors. If, then, they established among themselves a distinct society, it was because they had been cut off from general society, and it would be as foolish as it would be odious to accuse, in the name of the common law, those who had been placed beyond its protection.

The Leaguers had also formed a state within the State, but with this difference, that they had banded together to oppress the Calvinists, while the latter associated only to escape oppression; and a cruel experience proved to them, under the reign of Louis

XIV., that, in losing their political organization, they exposed themselves to lose all.

The council of the king did not learn without astonishment the decisions of the Assembly of St. Foy. They had supposed that the great body of the Calvinists, deprived of their former protector, would fall to pieces. It was the same error as that of Catherine de Medici and Charles IX. after St. Bartholomew. On seeing the Protestants taking a firmer attitude for redress from the blows of persecution, the ministers of state began to reflect on the necessity of arranging articles of agreement with them.

The king feigned umbrage at the proceeding; in his heart he encouraged the political assemblies. He preferred them to a protector who would desire to take an important place in the kingdom, and he employed them against the Leaguers in connection with his advisers, at Rome itself, in order to be able to accord better conditions to his old friends. Without the assemblies of the Protestants, one of the most glorious acts of the reign of Henry IV., the Edict of Nantes, would never have been decreed in the council, or enregistered by the parliaments.

The negotiations were long, laborious, mingled with incidents which would afford at this day little interest. Political assemblies were held at Saumur, Loudun, Vendôme, afterwards at Saumur and at Châtellerault, in the years 1595, '96, and '97. The court addressed to them, according to circumstances, menaces or words of encouragement. They appointed commissaries to treat with the Calvinists; but they were vested with very narrow powers, and within these limits even they were not authorized to conclude a definite arrangement. There were meetings of the privy council, and of the council for assemblies, constantly assembling and dispersing: some wishing to allow only the Edict of Poitiers with some unimportant amendments; others

persisting in demanding the full and free exercise of their religion: the first invoking reasons of State; the second, principles of justice and conscience.

In the midst of these barren disputes, the persecution continued: violent in certain places, and intermeddling in others. At Châtaigneraie, on the confines of the Poitou and Brittany, the Leaguers, encouraged by the Duke de Mercœur, fell suddenly on the faithful, while they were celebrating their worship, in 1595. Two hundred persons of every age, men and women, had been cowardly murdered. This was a new massacre of Vassy.

Among the victims was a little babe just presented for baptism. A poor boy of eight years offered, in the simplicity of his heart, eight *sous* he had in his purse to ransom his life; but the butchers loved his blood more than his money, and the lady of the Châtaignerie amused herself in counting with them the number of the dead.

This atrocious butchery enraged even the most exasperated counsellors of Henry IV.; and the authors of the massacre were expressly excluded from the benefits of amnesty. But we find in a document published in 1597, under this title, *Complaints of the Reformed Churches of France*, how many affronts, acts of injustice and violence they perpetrated with impunity. 'These grievances would fill a volume: we shall cite but a few examples.

Throughout entire provinces, as in Burgundy and Normandy, there was no free exercise of religion: a single place of worship only in Brittany, and two in Provence; the faithful maltreated, stoned, or thrown into the sea, on their return from the country; elsewhere cruelly taxed first in person, then in money; the king's own subjects obliged to leave home in pursuit of the Lord's Supper; sometimes the legate was not permitted to leave his seat in the city; bishops and pastors burnt by the heat of the persecution; individuals to bear consolation to the sick; and at St. Germain, for example,

a man banished for having consoled one suffering from the plague in the street ; children seized or baptized by force in their houses by the priests, accompanied by officers of justice ; the curate of St. Etienne starving an old man in prison, to wrench from him an abjuration, and compelling him to sign an act before the notary, by which he condemned himself to banishment, if he renounced the Catholic faith ; hostage towns seized or dismantled ; the poor neglected, and driven to those places where the Protestants gave the most to the common purse ; systematic exclusion from the important public offices, and even from the simple magistracy of the town—the right of ownership—the offices of notary or attorney ; no justice before the tribunals ; exorbitant fines and imprisonments, under the slightest pretexts ; shameful exhumation of the dead, of those even who had been buried in the chapels of their ancestors, etc., etc.

In terminating this long list of grievances, the Protestants said to the king : “ And yet, Sire, we have among us no Jacobins and Jesuits who wish for your life, or Leaguers who aspire to your crown. We have never presented, instead of petitions, the points of our swords. We are rewarded with considerations of State. It is not yet time, they say, to grant us an edict ! And yet, good God ! after thirty-five years of persecution, ten years of banishment by the edicts of the League, eight years of the king’s reign, four years of proscription, we demand an edict from your majesty which shall allow us to enjoy what is common to all your subjects. The sole glory of God, the liberty of our consciences, the repose of the State, the security of our property and our lives,—this is the summit of our wishes, and the end of our requests.”

The king and his council sought still further means of temporization. But new perils of the kingdom, the surprise of Amiens by the Spaniards, the determination of many Huguenot noble-

men to remain in their castles, instead of drawing the sword for a king who abandoned them, the conscience of the best men, which at last began to speak, secured the grant, in the month of April, 1598, of an ordinance, which received, from the place where it was published, the name of the Edict of Nantes.

In the preamble of this celebrated act, the king recognized that God was adored and prayed to by all his subjects, if not in the same form, at least with the same intention, so that his kingdom will ever *merit and preserve the glorious title of most Christian*. The edict was declared *perpetual and irrevocable*, as being the principal foundation of the union and tranquillity of the State.

This grand charter of the French Reformation, under the ancient regime, accorded, in brief, what follows: Full liberty of conscience in spiritual jurisdiction; the public exercise of religion in all places where it was established in 1597, and in the faubourgs of the towns; permission to the lord high-justices to celebrate divine service in their castles, and to the noblemen of the second rank to receive thirty persons to their private worship; admission of the Protestants to public offices, of their children to the schools, of their sick to the hospitals, of their poor to a share of the charities; the right of printing their books in certain places; middle chambers in some of the parliaments; a chamber of the Edict at Paris entirely composed of Catholics, except one member, but offering sufficient quarantees for its special purposes; four academies for scientific and theological instruction; authorization of convoking the synods, according to the discipline; in fine, a certain number of places of hostage.

The Catholic Church had also its part in the edict. The property of the clergy was everywhere to be restored, the tithes payed, and the exercise of Catholicism re-established throughout the kingdom. This last article, which restored mass in two hun-

dred and fifty towns and two thousand parishes of the country, failed to excite an *emeute* at La Rochelle.

It was not religious liberty, nor even simple tolerance, as understood in our day ; it was more a treaty of peace between two communities, placed side by side on the same soil. They had two laws, two armies, two establishments of justice, and each party had its places of hostage. Henry IV., the head of the whole State, had filled the office of arbiter between the two camps. But there was already a great advance upon the past.

The false maxim that there must be in a State but one faith, as there is but one king and one government, had cost France three thousand millions of our money, and two millions of lives. It had erected scaffolds and funeral piles for seventy years, re-kindled civil war for thirty years, provoked the massacres of Merindol, Vassy, St. Bartholomew, and caused spoliations, assassinations, crimes without number. At the close of the wars, half the towns and castles were in ashes, industry destroyed, and the country so devastated that thousands of peasants had resolved to quit France, having no longer the means of living on the soil which had nourished their fathers.

Humanity has made the principle of religious liberty triumphant by marching through torrents of blood and heaps of ruin : it has cost too dear ever to be again contested.

BOOK THIRD.

FROM THE PROMULGATION TO THE REVOCATION OF THE
EDICT OF NANTES.

(1598-1685.)

I.

THE compromise between the two religious communions was approved by good men; but it was slow in passing from law into ideas and morals.

The Catholic clergy made the most earnest protestations against the Edict of Nantes, and Clement VIII. declared that ordinance, which permitted *liberty of conscience to every one, the most execrable ever made*. The University, swayed by the Sorbonne and the Jesuits, desired to close the doors of the colleges against the Huguenots; and several parliaments themselves opposed great difficulties to the registration of the edict.

Gradually, however, passions subsided; and notwithstanding the quarrels which inevitably succeeded such cruel conflicts, the twelve years which expired from the promulgation of the edict to the death of the king, formed one of the calmest epochs of the French Reformation. Our old historians express but one regret: it is that the reign of Henry IV. had not lasted twelve years longer, to have given him time to achieve his work of pacification and conciliation.

Proselytism, already confined within narrow limits by the wars of religion, ceased almost entirely after the edict, at least on the side of the Calvinists. The Catholics alone continued to recruit their adherents; but politics were stronger than argumentation. There were Huguenot nobles, who passed through the Church of Rome to reach the ante-chambers of the court.

The priests would have been glad, above all, to have won over the pastors. They showed themselves even generous; and on a brief of the Pope, they raised a fund of thirty thousand livres of annual rents, in order to offer pensions to ministers and professors who would be tempted to abjure. But they found not a man to empty the purse of the Catholic clergy on this condition.

From 1598 to 1610 the Calvinists interfered very little in the affairs of the State. Young Henry de Condé had been called to Paris, in the year 1595, under the promise of abiding by the religion of his father. But he had scarcely arrived when they put him into the hands of zealous Catholics; and not only was he converted, but he became a *converter*. This Prince gave fifteen sous to his domestics every time they went to confession, provided they brought him certificates well authenticated.

One member only of the family of the Bourbons, Catherine de Navarre, sister of Henry IV., had remained faithful to the religion of Jeanne d'Albret. She gave proof of great constancy; and upon a false report that she had gone to mass, she wrote to Mornay: "I do not intend to do that until you shall have become Pope."

She practised her worship at St. Germain-en-Laye, after the entry of Henry IV. at Paris, that she might avoid recriminations. One day, however, having attended at the Louvre the marriage of a niece of Coligny, and allowed preaching with open doors on the occasion, the priests complained bitterly. "I esteem you very daring," said the king to them, "that you use such

language in my house towards Madame, my sister." "But they have celebrated a marriage." "Very well! since it is done, what order do you wish I shall give them?" This little incident serves to show with what a hostile eye the clergy then watched the Protestants, riveting their chains when they could, but never permitting their release.

It seems that the Bearnese was not much troubled about the abjuration of his sister, and he sent back the Calvinists to her when he found no means of satisfying their requests. "Address my sister," said he, smiling, to the noblemen of the Saintonge; "for your fate is tied to apron-strings."

But he desired, at length, her marriage with the Duke of Bar, of the house of Lorraine. This affair, in itself of so little importance, long occupied the Council of the Crown, the Holy See, and the Synods. A doctor of the Sorbonne was made to dispute before the princes with a professor of Sedan; but the Princess persisted in her faith. The Pope refused a dispensation for the marriage; the prelates refused, in their turn, to go further; and the king, who was annoyed with these delays, thought of calling into his cabinet his natural brother, the Archbishop of Rouen, a worldly priest, who consented to give the nuptial benediction.

This marriage was not happy. The sister of Henry IV. had to suffer the cold treatment and harsh behavior of the Duke of Bar, who allowed himself to be completely governed by the Jesuits. She died in 1604. No Bourbon has ever since belonged to the Reformed communion.

Some lords of high rank still attempted to entangle the Huguenots in their private quarrels, but without success. The Duke de Bouillon, among others, who had been compromised in the plot of Marshal Biron, invited his co-religionists to come to his aid. "It is necessary," wrote he, "that all ministers and churches, without any exception or distinction, should engage in

the defence of this cause so just and so important." Some noblemen arose at his call, but the mass of the people gave it no attention. The liberty guarantied by the Edict of Nantes was enough for the Consistories, and the rest could do nothing without them.

The political assemblies continued to meet, but only once in three years. They were composed sometimes of seventy members, viz. : thirty noblemen, twenty delegates of the *Tiers-Etats*, and twenty pastors. The spirit of faction did not show itself. These assemblies confined themselves ordinarily to the compilation of lists of grievances, and the appointment of two general deputies, who were to defend at the court the interests of the churches.

Without absolutely interdicting these assemblies, the king took umbrage at them, and expressed it through Sully, in 1605, at the Assembly of Châtellerault. "If Henry IV.," the delegates answered him, "were immortal, content with his word in all that concerns us, we would renounce, this moment, all precautionary measures; we would abandon our places of surety; we would regard as useless all special rules for the conservation of our society. But the fear of finding, in some one of his successors, sentiments very different, (did they not foresee very clearly ?) compels us to adhere to the measures we have been advised to take for our security."

The National Synods assembled also in a more regular manner than at any time previous. They held five from the time of the Edict of Nantes till 1609. Pastors, elders, and faithful had all comprehended that the practical exercise of the synodical system was essential to the prosperity of religion. There was no dispute, no act of any importance, which, directly or by way of appeal, did not find its consummation at this high tribunal, where local passions could not prevail over the common interests.

One of the prerogatives of the National Synods was to regulate among the provinces and academies the excise duties of *the king*, which amounted, or rather began to amount, to (for they were not paid very promptly) forty-five thousand crowns, which was equal to four or five times the same sum at the present rate. A professor of Theology then received 700 livres per annum; a professor of Hebrew, Greek, or Philosophy, 400 livres; the regents of colleges, from 150 to 300 livres. The academies sustained by the synods were established at Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, and Sedan. The first two were the most flourishing.

A question which agitated these assemblies very much, and became almost an affair of State, was an article added, in 1603, to the Confession of Faith by the National Synod of Gap, in which the Roman Pontiff was accused of being *the Antichrist*. We quote this article as a monument of the ideas and language of the time: "Since the Bishop of Rome, having created a monarchy in Christianity, by appropriating to himself a domination over all churches and pastors, has so exalted himself as even to call himself God, to wish adoration, to boast of having all power in heaven and on earth, to dispose of all ecclesiastical matters, to decide on articles of faith, to authorize and interpret the Scriptures according to his pleasure, to make traffic in souls, to dispense from vows and oaths, to ordain new services of God; and in reference to civil government, to tread upon the legitimate authority of the magistrates, in seizing, giving, exchanging kingdoms: we believe and maintain that he is assuredly *the Antichrist*, and the *son of perdition*, predicted in the word of God, under the emblem of the scarlet prostitute. . . ."

The article made great noise. It was followed by theses upon the same subject, which had been sustained with great *eclat* by Jeremy Ferrier, pastor at Nismes, and brought before the Parlia-

ment of Toulouse. The unanimity of the National Synod of Gap gave them far more weight. The legate made very loud complaints; the Pope manifested great indignation; the king exclaimed that the decision of the Synod threatened the destruction of the peace of the kingdom, and zealous Catholics did not fail to represent to him the affair as a personal offence, or even an act of revolt against his crown.

Hence arose a long and difficult negotiation. At last the National Synod of La Rochelle, convoked in 1607, decided that while approving entirely with united voice the contested article, and while holding it conformable to what had been announced in the Scripture, they consented, upon the express order of the Prince, to leave it out of the Confession of Faith. But they commissioned one of their members to prove that the accusation was just, and the pastor Viguiet fulfilled his trust in a volume entitled: *Le théâtre de l'Antechrist*.

To comprehend this persistence, we must remember that the controversy was then conducted on both sides with extreme acrimony. The tongue and the pen having replaced the sword, they brought to this new field of battle passions which had no other vent. The demands of this controversy were so great that, by a singular resolution, the National Synod of St. Maixent distributed the most difficult points of the discussion among the provinces, directing them to have them examined by persons capable of coping, on every occasion, with the Catholic doctors.

The contest sometimes assumed grave importance, as happened in the conference opened at Fontainebleau, the 4th of May, 1600, between Duplessis-Mornay and Duperron.

Mornay had collected, in a treatise on the *Eucharist*, five or six thousand texts from the Fathers, which appeared to him opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation. It was, so to speak, the voice of the early centuries of Christianity, which he called

to witness against the inventions of the following ages, and all the venerable doctors of the Primitive Church arose, one after the other, in his work, to protest against the alteration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This treatise was at the same time a religious and political event; and we shall be little astonished if we reflect, on the one hand, that the author had lived thirty years in familiarity with the king, and on the other, that the doctrine of the Eucharist was the great question of the epoch between Catholicism and the Reformation. It is upon this point that the sentences of death against heretics were principally supported, and nothing contributed more, as we have seen, to break up the Conference of Poissy.

The Cardinal de Medici, legate of the Pope, sent six copies of Mornay's volume to Rome, promising to get it refuted by Bellarmine. But instead of a refutation, dispatches arrived from Clement VIII. which denounced a new heretical conspiracy. Henry IV. was so much displeased, that he followed up before the Holy See the act of annulling his marriage with Margaret de Valois. The parliaments mingled also in the quarrel, and, during a whole winter, the pulpits of the old preachers of the League resounded with anathemas against the audacious adversary of the real presence.

Henry IV. testified his displeasure through M. de la Force. "I have always directed my services," replied Mornay, "in the following order: first, to God; next, to my king; at last, to my friends; and I cannot with a clear conscience change my method."

Yet Duperron, Bishop of Evreux, said to those who were willing to hear, that he had discovered in the treatise *more than five hundred enormous falsehoods*, and that he would prove it. The report having reached the ear of Mornay, he declared this assertion a base calumny, and demanded an opportunity to justify himself in a public Conference.

At the single word *public Conference*, the Legate, the Archbishop of Paris, the doctors of the Sorbonne, cried out against it; for the priests generally came off badly in their oral discussions with the theologians of the Reformation. "Be tranquil," said the king to them; "the affair will be so well conducted that the disappointment will fall upon the heretics."

He chose, indeed, for judges of the dispute, four very decided Catholics, and only two Calvinists, and they were suspected: Dufrene-Canaye, who had already given his word to the king that he would embrace Catholicism; and Casaubon, who, constantly occupied with Greek and Latin manuscripts, affected a great indifference about matters of faith. It is related concerning him, that he answered his son, who asked him for his benediction, after he had become a Capuchin: "I give it to you heartily: I condemn you not; condemn me no more."

Mornay saw the snare, and exclaimed against this want of impartiality. "Sire," said he to the king, "if nothing was concerned but my life, or even my honor, I would throw them at your feet; I would sacrifice them to your service. But since I am obligated to the defence of virtue, where God's honor is concerned, I beseech your majesty to pardon me, if I seek for just and reasonable means to guard it."

Far from doing justice to his request, the king harshly replied that he had caused him great displeasure in attacking the Pope, *to whom he was more obligated than to his own father*. "Ah, well! sire," said Mornay, "since thus it pleases God, I see the matter is ended; they will make you condemn the truth between four walls, and God will do me the favor, if I live, to make it sounded to the four quarters of the earth."

A day had been appointed for the Conference. Henry brought into this dispute a passion so violent, that the night before he could not sleep. "M. de Loménie, who was lying in his cham-

ber," writes an historian, "said to him, 'it must be that your majesty takes this affair strangely to heart: the day before Contras, Arques, and Ivry, three battles on which we staked every thing, your majesty was not so uneasy.' He confessed to him what a trial it cost him to please the Pope by the ruin of M. Duplessis!"

It was not enough to make so bad a choice of commissaries. The texts in dispute were not indicated to Mornay until the very day of the Conference, early in the morning, and he lost yet another hour in finding the books by which he was obliged to verify his quotations. At eight o'clock, the king called him into his presence, although the discussion was to be opened at noon: it was done, in the words of an historian, *to consume his time*. At this last act, the whole soul of Mornay was aroused with indignation. "Sire," cried he, "may your majesty pardon me! This extraordinary severity towards a good servant is not natural to you."

The moment having arrived, the lords and ladies of the court, members of the council, officers of the parliament, bishops and priests, assembled in the great hall of the Palace of Fontainebleau. Duperron comes forward with a beaming countenance, proudly conscious of a victory he knew had been gained in advance. Mornay comes also, not having thought it possible that he could recoil without compromising the cause of the Gospel; but he was unable to verify but a very small number of the quotations: he is suffering, disheartened, and too certain of the sentence which will be pronounced.

At the opening of the Conference, the plan of attack was changed: instead of enormous falsehoods, the question was only about *simple mistakes*. Now, what is there astonishing in the circumstance that in so large a work, entirely filled with citations, the author should have made some oversights? Mornay poorly defended himself; and out of some thousands of texts,

the judges condemned *nine*. The night following he fell sick, which furnished an occasion for breaking up the Conference.

Henry wished to sup in the hall of this theological tournament, as he would have done on a field of battle. He announced throughout the kingdom the success he had obtained; and wrote to the Duke d'Epemon: "I have just accomplished a wonder." Duperron triumphed. "Let us avow the truth," said the king to him, who could no longer restrain his jesting humor: "the right had need indeed of good help."

Clement VIII. testified great joy at this victory. He annulled the marriage of Henry IV., and sent the cardinal's hat to Duperron.

We should notice, in favor of Henry IV., that he publicly lauded Mornay soon after the Conference, and declared that he had never had a better or a greater servant. It was the conscience of the man which protested against the diplomacy of the king.

Duplessis returned, heart-broken, into his government of Saurmur. "Courage!" said his wife to him: "it is God who has ordered thus. Preserve your heart and your mind for what you have still to do." He undertook to verify all the texts of the *Eucharist*, and published a new edition, which was approved by the theologians of France and Geneva. The king took no more concern about it, nor did Cardinal Duperron: both had obtained what they desired.

There were no other important acts in the second half of the reign of Henry IV.; and when we recall the horrible scenes which had preceded, we are happy to record only the battles of theology. Burning passions were still aroused, but human blood had ceased to flow.

Religious services were performed almost everywhere without obstruction in the seven hundred and sixty churches which had

remained in the French Protestant communion ; and when they presented serious grievances, the council rectified the matter. The faithful of Paris had been compelled to open their temple in the little village of Ablon, five leagues from the city. The nobles complained of not having power, during the same day, to perform their duties to God and to the king. The poor classes also complained of the length of the road. Some of the children whom they carried to the assemblies, according to the discipline, to be baptized, died on the way. The king was moved by these difficulties, and permitted the Reformers, in 1606, to perform their exercises at Charenton, which continued up to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

But a frightful outrage was preparing in the dark. The Jesuits, driven from the kingdom on account of the crime of Jean Châtel, had returned, because Henry IV., in choosing between two dangers, chose rather to have them near than against him. And as some persons represented to him that he had done wrong in recalling these perfidious and bloody monks, "Odds-bobs !" said he ; "do you answer for my person ?" He attempted to gain them by force of confidence and generosity. Father Cotton was appointed confessor of the king, and preceptor of the dauphin. But nothing disarmed them, no more than the scum of the people, who, remembering the sermons of the League, always saw in the Bearnese a heretic and an excommunicate.

The 14th of May, 1610, Ravallac twice plunged his knife into the breast of Henry IV. This wretch avowed in his examination that he had yielded to the temptation to kill him, because in making war on the Pope, the king made war upon God, *since the Pope is God*. A sacrilegious doctrine had begotten the crime of regicide.

Henry IV. has retained a large place in the memory and the

heart of the French. He redeemed his weaknesses by his eminent qualities, and even his faults by the high services he rendered to his people. It is his reign, as has been said, that marks definitively the close of the Middle Ages; and the Reformers have always been grateful to the prince who was the first, sincerely, to grant them the free exercise of their religion.

II.

The news of the death of the king awakened all the anxieties of the Calvinists. Many families rushed hurriedly from Paris, although the keeping of the gates had been intrusted to the *bourgeois* of both religions, as if they had been threatened with another St. Bartholomew. The Duke de Sully shut himself in the Bastile, of which he was governor. The Huguenots of the southern provinces kept their hands on their arms. It appeared as if the Edict of Nantes had been pierced by the same thrust which had entered the heart of Henry IV.

The 22d of May, the court published a declaration confirming, in the most explicit terms, all the edicts of toleration. But the Protestants believed neither in the power of the regent, Mary de Medici, nor in her good faith. They feared to find in her and in her son, Louis XIII., then eight and a half years of age, a second Queen Catherine and a new Charles IX.

Mary de Medici gave herself up to the control of two Italian adventurers—Concini and Leonora Galigai. An ignorant, bigoted, and vindictive woman, having all the vices of ambition without its qualities, she managed the most important affairs of the State under the predictions of the astrologers, and thought, by plunging into the puerile intrigues of the court, to make use of the means of government.

The public treasury, under her regency, was delivered up to the pillage of the great nobles, and the kingdom to their turbulent factions. The Dukes de Nevers, de Mayenne, d'Epemon, de Longueville, de Vendôme, fortified themselves, each in his own province, dictating their conditions of obedience to the crown, and offering to the leaders of the Calvinists the dangerous example of subordinating to their personal pretensions the general good.

Some of the latter were fully inclined to follow them, especially the Duke de Bouillon, and the Marshal de Lesdignières : the one a man of capacity and good council, but committing fault upon fault, being betrayed by his ambition to become the first personage of the kingdom ; the other, able and brave on the battle-field, but irregular in his morals, unscrupulous in his means of success, and seduced by the prospect of the Constable's sword. Both affected great zeal for Protestantism, to win favor of the Huguenots ; but they soon became suspected by their former friends, and did not render to the court the services they had led it to expect.

The Duke de Sully, stripped of all his dignities, brought into the affairs of the Reformation the ill-humor of a disgraced minister. He did not always recoil before ultra opinions ; but at the moment of proceeding to execution, his high judgment restrained him, and he took care not to forget that he had been one of the most faithful servants of the crown.

His son-in-law, the Duke Henry de Rohan, then thirty-two years of age, began to show himself and prepare to take the highest place in the Calvinist party. Young, active, of almost royal birth, loving study as well as arms, he had already travelled through the different States of Europe to learn their resources and genius. He was simple and austere in his habits, intrepid, generous, naturally inclined to great undertakings, and capable of

accomplishing them. His speech was clear, brief, and manly—the true eloquence of a partisan leader. His religious sentiments inspired more confidence than those of other nobles of his rank; and history should not forget that, in the enterprises he undertook, his devotion to the cause of the Reformation overcame his ambition.

Duplessis-Mornay, either because years had cooled his ardor, or because he better calculated the feeble military resources of the Huguenots, was inclined to pacific measures, and advised them to endure every thing rather than resort to arms. After he had heard of the death of the king, he assembled the magistrates of Saumur, and said to them: "Let us talk no more of Huguenots or papists; these words are prohibited by the edicts. Even if there were no edict on the earth, if we are Frenchmen, if we love our country, our families, ourselves, they should be hereafter effaced from our souls. We only want union now. He who will be a good Frenchman, shall be to me a citizen, a brother."

As the court then felt the necessity of managing the Protestants, they offered him money or favors. The honest servant of Henry IV. replied to these propositions: "It shall not be said I have profited by the common calamity, importuned the grief of the queen, or saddened the minority of the king. I leave the queen to decide if I merit any thing; if she may be pleased to give me what has long been my due. But in this calamity I ask nothing, and am as grateful as if the queen favored me."

He applied himself, without relaxation, under the regency of Mary de Medici, to baffle intrigues and calm resentments. The president, Jeannin, wrote to him, after the troubles excited by the Prince of Condé: "You have conducted yourself during this miserable war to the satisfaction of their majesties, and they are grateful for your discretion and fidelity." But Duplessis-Mornay

had cause to know before he died how forgetful and ungrateful are kings.

All the conflicting passions of the Calvinists were to be found in the political assembly first convoked at Châtellerault, and opened at Saumur, the 27th of May, 1611. The court had authorized it only with reluctance and uneasiness. They had affixed the condition, that the assembly should separate as soon as they had made out a list of six persons from whom the king would choose two general deputies; but it was very evident the delegates of the Reformers did not come from all quarters of the realm to limit themselves to the writing of six names on a bulletin.

The assembly of Saumur again numbered seventy members—thirty noblemen, twenty pastors, sixteen deputies of the *Tiers-Etats*, and four delegates from the government of La Rochelle, which then constituted a kind of principality by itself. Fifteen provinces were represented, without counting Béarn, whose deputies were admitted after some hesitation. Besides, the principal lords of the party had been summoned by special letters. There were remarked among them the Marshal de Lesdiguières, the Dukes de Bouillon, de Sully, de Rohan, and Duplessis-Mornay, who, without being of the same rank, compensated for the inferiority of his titles by his long services and his imposing virtue.

The Duke de Bouillon aspired to the presidency, relying on court intrigues. He was not elected. Three-quarters of the votes were cast for Duplessis-Mornay, and they gave him as vice-president the pastor Chamier. This gave the council of the king clearly to understand that political passions could not sway the assembly; that they were absorbed in the interests of religion, but on this point they had fully resolved not to compromise.

The sessions lasted nearly four months, in the midst of laborious negotiations, the court demanding the speedy dissolution of

the assembly, and the latter unwilling to adjourn until they had obtained satisfaction for their list of grievances. They renewed the oath of union, which consisted in swearing obedience and fidelity to the king : *the sovereign empire of God always remained unimpaired*. This reservation, so legitimate, so invulnerable in itself, opened the door, however, to new conflicts. At last the assembly separated, after designating and approving two general deputies.

Henry de Rohan showed there his talents as a statesman and great political orator. He recommended union, order, the duty of investigating the grievances of the most humble of the Reformers, of resolutely demanding admission to all the employments of the kingdom, and of providing for the safe keeping of the hostage towns. "We have arrived," said he, "at a crossing where many roads meet; but there is only one where we can find our safety. The life of Henry the Great maintained it; it must be now maintained by our virtue. Let our end be the glory of God and the security of the churches he has so miraculously established in this kingdom. Let us assist each other with ardor, but by lawful means. Let us be religious in demanding only things necessary: let us be firm in obtaining them."

Other political assemblies were convened, the following years, at Grenoble, Nismes, La Rochelle, and at Loudun. Our ancient historians distinguish the members of which they were composed by the following qualifications: the *ambitious*, who availed themselves of the pretext of religion to attain their private ends; the *zealous* or *affectionate*, who only asked the exercise of their offices of piety in peace; the *judicious*, who attempted to unite the interests of the faith with those of politics; and last, the *timid*, who were ready to endure every thing sooner than peril their repose or their fortune. Those who lived at Paris and in the provinces where the Reformers were very weak,

habitually counselled measures of prudence, from fear of being crushed; others, feeling strong by themselves, spoke loud, and showed their sword half-drawn from the scabbard. The distinction between the Protestants of the north and of the south, already perceptible, was manifested still clearer afterwards.

The convocations of the National Synods were equally frequent, and these ecclesiastical bodies entered more than ever into political questions, especially the Synod of Privas, which opened its session on the 23d of May, 1612. The pastor Chamier was the president or moderator of it, and the pastor Pierre Dumoulin was his assistant. The members of the Synod complained of the letters-patent of abolition or pardon, published by the council of the king, in the month of the preceding April.

"The churches of this kingdom," said they, "declare that they have never required, nor asked, nor attempted to obtain this grace or pardon, and that no one of their body is guilty of these imaginary crimes imputed to them; that they are all ready, as a body and separately, to answer for their actions, to publish them to all the world, and to show them in broad day, in the face of every species of torment, more easy to endure than a stain so shameful and infamous, which would make them despicable and odious to posterity, and strip them of the honor always attributed to them of being good Frenchmen. . . . Further, they declared that they would in no way use or avail themselves of said letters of amnesty and pardon, and that if any of their number would accept them, or who had consented to accept them, they were disavowed."

The same Synod were occupied in re-establishing good harmony among the Calvinist nobles, who were divided at Saumur; and it resulted in a solemn act of reconciliation, signed, the 16th of August, by the Marshals de Bouillon and Lesdiguières, the

Dukes of Sully, Rohan, Soubise. the Marquis de la Force and Duplessis-Mornay.

Another affair more directly religious was agitated at different meetings in the provincial and National Synods. It was the question of Jeremy Ferrier, whom we have already named, at first, a vehement defender of the Reformed communion, afterwards secretly bribed and paid by the court. Ferrier was gifted with learning, a creative genius, and great ability in speaking, but of an orthodoxy and a probity suspected. They accused him of having enunciated anti-christian propositions on the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and of having badly administered the funds of the Academy of Nismes. They administered to him grave reprimands, which determined him to throw himself into the arms of the Catholics.

He was appointed counsellor at the *Presidial* of Nismes, in 1613. The Consistory excommunicated him, and the people, who designated him afterwards under the name of the *traitor Judas*, desired to oppose his installation. His houses in the town and in the country were demolished, and the *Presidial* even forced to transfer itself for a while to Beaucaire.

The Synod of Lower Languedoc, authorized for the purpose by the National Synod of Privas, confirmed the excommunication in the most solemn terms: "We, pastors and elders, declare that the said M. Jeremy Ferrier is a scandalous, incorrigible, impenitent, undisciplinable man; and as such, after having invoked the name of the living and true God, in the name and in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the direction of the Holy Spirit, and the authority of the Church, we have expelled him out and do expel him from the company of the faithful."

Ferrier obtained through the favor of the Jesuits the office of Counsellor of State, and wrote the vindication of Cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1626, detested by the Calvinists, and little es-

teemed by the Catholics. His daughter, who espoused the chief lieutenant of police, Sardieu, figures in the satires of Boileau, for her sordid avarice: she was assassinated by robbers in 1664.

III.

The position of the Protestants was getting worse, notwithstanding the reiterated declarations of the council on the faithful execution of the edicts. Their rights were continually infringed in courts of justice, nominations to public offices, hospitals, a share of the charities, places of worship, everywhere and in all things where the Catholics could subject them to vexations without too openly violating the laws.

In the States-General, assembled in 1614, the orator of the *Tiers* spoke in favor of toleration. But the clergy and even the noblesse hinted that the king would execute sooner or later the oath of his consecration, by which he had promised to drive from the territory of his jurisdiction all the heretics denounced by the Church. Cardinal Duperron declared that the edicts were only provisory or suspensive, and that they had only accorded delay to rebellious subjects.

It would be difficult at this day to imagine how *far* the clergy went in the demands they made of the king against the Huguenots, after deliberating upon them in their general assemblies: the prohibition to write any thing against the sacraments of the Roman Church and the authority of the Pope; the prohibition to hold schools in the cities, and even in the faubourgs of episcopal towns; the prohibition to ministers to visit hospitals to comfort the sick of their communions; the prohibition to foreigners to teach any thing but Catholicism; the prohibition to the judges of the middle chamber, where the court could not agree to adopt

the less rigorous sentence ; in fine, the imminent interdiction of all the exercises of the so-called Reformed religion. These demands were periodically renewed, with clauses always more severe and oppressive, till the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and even till 1787. It was necessary that the grand voice of the nation should rise in the Constituent Assembly to silence the clamors of the priests.

The project of a two-fold marriage, of the young king with an Infanta of Spain, and of the Prince of Asturias with a daughter of France, a project supported by the Holy See, augmented still more the fears of the Protestants. The report had become general that one of the conditions of the alliance of the two courts was the destruction of heresy, and the Catholic preachers had made it the text of their sermons. "If the Jesuits," wrote Duplessis-Mornay to Chancellor de Sillery, "openly preach that the design of the double marriage with Spain is the extirpation of heresy, is it surprising that our churches are alarmed, and that it is discussed in the memorials of the assembly?"

The Prince of Condé, a Catholic bigot, as we have said, attempted to turn to his own personal advantage the uneasiness of the Calvinist party, by invoking the memory of his father and grandfather. He published in 1615 a manifesto, in which he told the Protestants that the Edict of Nantes would be abolished, and that the king was assembling troops to exterminate them. These provocations drew several noblemen of Grenoble and Nismes into the political assemblies. The Duke de Rohan began the campaign on the side of the Saintonge ; but the mass of the Calvinists did not join them, nor did Lesdignières, Châtillon, Sully, and Mornay. The latter wrote, on this occasion : "A negotiation will be recommenced, provided that Monsieur the Prince is willing ; our churches will receive no advantage ; they will sustain all the odium, perhaps even after the war is over."

This indeed did happen. Condé made his peace with the court without regard to the position or the interests of his allies.

An event far more important, the oppression of the Reformation in the Béarn, furnished them with more serious motives for recommencing the wars of religion.

The principality of Lower Navarre and of the Béarn, annexed to France by Henry IV., was more closely annexed in 1617. Three-quarters of the population, some say nine-tenths, were of the Reformed communion. They were, nevertheless, enjoined to restore to the priests all the ecclesiastical property which had been appropriated, since the year 1569, to the service of the churches, schools, hospitals, and the poor. The Jesuit Arnoux said that these possessions *belonged to God, who was their proprietor*, and that consequently no one had either the power or the right to take possession of them.

The States of the Béarn, the noblesse, the magistrates of the towns, the people, all made energetic but useless representations. The king placed himself *en route* at the head of an army, and, the Bearnese being able to oppose but a short resistance, entered the town of Pau, the 15th October, 1620. He remained there but two days, for there was no church there, says an historian of the time, where he could thank God, from whom he held this heritage; and he went to chant mass with his soldiers at Navarreins, where it had not been celebrated for fifty years to a single day. Bishops, abbots, curates, took possession of the property of the Church, and the Jesuits took a good share for themselves.

Cruel violences marked the passage of the royal troops. "Nothing was heard from the mouth of the most moderate," says Elias Benoit, "but menaces of exemplary punishment, hanging, decapitating, abolishing throughout the kingdom the Reformed religion, which they called *the execrable religion*, expelling all who made profession of it, or making them bear some

mark of infamy. The soldiers broke through the doors of the churches, demolished the walls, tore in pieces the books and paintings on which the commandments of God were written. They robbed and beat with blows of the cane and sword the peasants who came to the market of Pau, taking it for granted they were all Huguenots. They forced the Protestants who fell into their hands to make the sign of the cross, and to kneel when the procession passed. The women feared to appear in the streets. . . . Some who were pregnant they forced to swear that they would have their infants baptized in the Roman Church when they were born. They carried away children without the possibility of recovery by their fathers; and all this was done under the eyes of the king, without the possibility of getting him to listen to their complaints. In the rest of the country the soldiers lived at discretion; they proclaimed that the king had given them the right of pillaging the Huguenots; they drove away the ministers, insulting their wives, and forced men and women to mass, by blows of the baton."

Such was the first specimen of the dragoonades; they were to be brought to perfection and increased under the reign of Louis XIV.

It is easy to understand the indignation of the churches at the news of the persecutions of the Béarn. It was not the great lords of the party, this time, who instigated the military enterprises. They saw too well that the Calvinists, doubly weakened by defections and internal dissensions, could not be in a condition to cope with the troops of the king.

Some pastors also advised repose. Pierre Dumoulin, who swayed great influence among the Reformed Consistorials, wrote after the National Synod of Alais, of which he had been moderator, that every one should suffer patiently the fresh blows of the enemy. "If we must be persecuted," said he, "all who fear God

desire that this shall be done for the profession of the Gospel, and that our persecution should be truly the cross of Christ."

But the great body of the Huguenots, seconded by noblemen of the second rank, and by the *bourgeois* of La Rochelle, would not listen to pacific measures. Had not the king violated, in the Béarn, the engagements he had made at the assembly of Loudun? Was not the cause of the Bearnese the cause of all? Would they not have to endure the same fate on the first opportunity? Did not the counsellors of Louis XIII. engage to make an end of the Huguenots without delay? Was not their extermination preached in all the Catholic pulpits? And was it not better to take counsel of despair than to wait in fatal security for the last blow?

These ideas prevailed in the political assembly, convened at La Rochelle, in the month of December, 1620. The king had sent a bailiff to forbid the deputies of the churches to assemble, and the inhabitants of La Rochelle to receive them. When the bailiff had discharged his commission, the magistrates of the town answered him: "Now that you have done your duty, depart when you please."

The lords of the party attempted still to become mediators between the court and the assembly. The Dukes de Rohan, de Soubise, de la Trémoille, had an interview at Niort with several deputies. Duplessis-Mornay employed in his negotiations all his genius and influence. But the difficulties appeared insurmountable. The council of the king ordered the assembly to break up without delay, but they would not dissolve till they had obtained redress for their grievances, and sure guarantees for the free exercise of religion. On one side they said: Return home and you shall have satisfaction; on the other it was replied: Give us satisfaction and we will return home. Mornay, in speaking of the assembly of Loudun, has very well summed up this

double position : "The king orders us to separate, and promises to act ; we supplicate him to act, then we are ready to separate."

The debate was without issue, for both parties had concealed intentions. The council wished, at all hazards, to break up the political organization of the Reformers, and the latter supported it with determined constancy, being persuaded, not without reason, that upon their political organization depended their liberty in matters of religion.

The assembly of La Rochelle, tired of sending to the court justifications and useless complaints, took at last, on the 10th of May, 1621, by a majority of six or seven votes, a bold and even rash step, which testified the republican spirit of the Rochellese. The measure exceeded the privileges granted by the Edict of Nantes, and whatever were the malignant purposes of the council, they would not approve it.

Reformed France was divided into eight departments or *circles*, an expression borrowed from the political establishment of Germany, and each circle was under the government of one of the chiefs of the party. The supreme authority was intrusted to the Duke de Bouillon. Governors could raise funds, organize armies, join battle, appoint officers. Three deputies of the assembly were to be present at the councils held by the general-in-chief and military commanders. Finally, the assembly reserved to itself the power to conclude treaties of peace.

This organization, however, existed more in appearance than in reality. The Duke de Bouillon remained neutral. Marshal de Lesdiguières was on the eve of embracing Catholicism. The Duke de la Trémoille, and the Marquis de Châtillon, grandson of Coligny, were vacillating, and were soon to change the command of the Huguenots for the Marshal's bâton. The Marquis de la Force feared to embroil himself hopelessly with the court. The Duke de Sully demanded only quiet. Mornay refused to put his

hand to the useless struggle. There was left, among all the chiefs, only the Duke de Rohan, and his brother, the Duke de Soubise, who manifested a willingness to throw their whole fortune into the new wars of religion.

The provinces they had divided into circles no longer answered with a unanimous voice to the call of the assembly. Picardy, Normandy, Orléanais, the Isle of France, in which there was but a small number of Protestants, even Poitou and Dauphiny, where they were more numerous, refused to take up arms. The entire effort at resistance was concentrated in Saintonge, Guyenne, Quercy, and the two provinces of Languedoc.

We should notice, as an interesting illustration of the code of manners, the rules adopted by the assembly of La Rochelle for the maintenance of religion and good order in the armies. The pastors were to offer prayers and sermons daily to the soldiers. The members of the army were forbidden to swear, under pain of a fine proportioned to the grade of the delinquent—a testoon for a soldier, a crown for a nobleman. Heavier penalties were laid on those who brought women into military encampments. They recommended the continuance of labor and husbandry. Prisoners were placed under the safeguard of the council. Rules which proved that the assembly of La Rochelle wished to make this new war honorable, but which could be executed only by a strong piety, which had become a very rare thing at that time.

IV.

Louis XIII. had commenced hostilities by advancing his army towards the Loire, from the 24th of April, fifteen days before the decision adopted at La Rochelle. Some politic men of the council had persisted in proposing means of compromise. They rep-

resented that the Huguenots held two hundred fortified places, that their soldiers were of tried valor, that despair would render them still more formidable, that they had in the churches four hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, and that the Calvinists, for sixty years, had lost more by peace than by war. But others wished to strike a grand blow against the Calvinist party, and Louis XIII. followed their advice.

The Jesuits, his first masters and his spiritual directors, urged him unceasingly to the destruction of the churches, and invented arguments to make him violate, with perfect security, the word he had pledged the heretics. "The promises of the king," said his confessor, Arnoux, "are either of conscience or of State. Those made to the Huguenots are not of conscience, for they are against the precepts of the Church ; and if they are of State, they should be sent back to the privy council which is of the opinion that they are not binding." It is thus that the contemporary and confrère of Escobar reasoned.

The Pope offered two hundred thousand crowns, on condition that the Huguenots were brought back willingly or forcibly into the Church of Rome. He addressed also to Louis XIII. a brief, in which he extolled him for having imitated his ancestors, who had *shown as much respect to the appeals of the Popes as to the commandments of God*. The cardinals offered on the same condition two hundred thousand crowns, and the priests a million.

During the harangues pronounced by the orator of the clergy, the king was urged to follow the example of Philip Augustus, the grandfather of St. Louis, who had entirely exterminated the Albigenses ; or, at least, that of the Emperor Constance, who had driven idolaters from the towns, and forced them to dwell in the villages, from which had been derived, said this priest, the name of pagans.

The emissaries of Spain, with which the double marriage had effected a close alliance, advised war for reasons of a different nature. Every time France was troubled, they felt themselves stronger at Madrid, and spoke louder there.

The king, therefore, placed himself at the head of his army with the Constable de Luynes, the Duke de Lesdiguières, who had made an open declaration before the court, the Cardinal de Guise, a multitude of lords, and with his mother, Mary de Medici, whom he distrusted. His council had taken care to distinguish, before the beginning of the campaign, between the *peaceable* Calvinists and those who were not,—a distinction which permitted the timid (bribed) to remain in their homes, without being accused of treason.

One of the first exploits of Louis XIII. was to take possession of the town and castle of Saumur by fraud. Duplessis-Mornay had been governor of it since the reign of Henry III. He kept the place a hostage town, granted by the edicts, and it was of great importance for the Calvinist party, because it commands the valley of the Loire. The Constable de Luynes demanded entrance in the name of the king, promising that he would no more attack the privileges of Saumur than he would the apple of the governor's eye; and *he gave them his word, as did his majesty, with his own mouth, which was also confirmed by M. de Lesdiguières*. Mornay opened the gates of the fortress, and, according to usage, made the Calvinist garrison retire. But scarcely had the king entered with his troops, when he declared that he took definitive possession of Saumur.

To give this act of bad faith the appearance of an arrangement, amicably concluded, they offered Mornay, besides the payment of the arrears of his office, 100,000 crowns and the bâton of a marshal. He replied with indignation, that if he had loved money, he might have gained millions under the preceding

reigns, and in regard to dignities, that he had always more desired to render himself worthy of them than to obtain them. "I can neither in conscience nor honor," added he, "sell the liberty and the security of others."

He withdrew to his castle, where he died the 11th of November, 1623. His last hours were full of serenity. "We saw clearly the Gospel of the Son of God engraven on his heart by the Holy Spirit," says the chaplain of his family, Jean Daillé; "we saw him in the midst of death, firmly possessed of life, and enjoying himself with entire contentment, where all men ordinarily are seized with terror. And it was from this lesson, so animated and efficacious, that even those who were the most concerned in his loss, gathered joy and edification." He made his confession of faith, avowing that he had received much and profited little. And as some one replied that he had faithfully employed his talents: "Ah! what have I?" exclaimed he; "say not mine, but God's in me."

Philip de Mornay was the last representative of this noble and brave generation who had received the lessons of Calvin and the examples of Coligny. He showed that it is possible to preserve, during half a century, even in the wars of religion, the worst of wars, a name without a stain, a character free from reproach, a conduct always uniform, a humane and generous soul. It is the highest glory to which man can attain.

Beyond Saumur, the royal army met no serious resistance, except on arriving at the gates of St. Jean d'Angely, which was commanded by the Duke de Soubise. The siege commenced on the 31st of May, and lasted twenty-six days. Among the number of volunteers was observed the Cardinal de Guise, who acquitted himself as a soldier better than as a priest. He engaged with so much ardor that he died from fatigue, a few days after, in the town of Saintes.

The king passed next into Lower Guyenne, and all the towns hastened to open to him their gates, except the little place Clairac, which declared itself a *town without a king, defended by soldiers without fear*. It was taken after a siege of twelve days. A pastor named La Fargue, his father, and his son-in-law, were condemned to death.

The eighteenth of August, the royal army commenced the attack of Montauban. This siege is celebrated in the annals of the French Reformation. The town of Montauban enjoyed municipal franchises which had inspired its inhabitants with an ardent spirit of independence. It had for counsellors men of head and action, and the strength of their faith redoubled their energy. The Marquis de la Force was commander. The Duke de Rohan had his general quarters at a short distance, and provided them with succors of men and munitions.

Louis XIII. presented himself before the walls of Montauban, with the Constable, the Dukes de Mayenne, d'Angoulême, de Montmorency, the Count de Bassompierre, and the *élite* of the noblesse of the kingdom. He was joined also during the siege by an auxiliary of an entirely different kind. It was a Spanish Carmelite, father *Dominique Jesu-Maria*, who had performed, they said, many miracles the preceding year, during the war of the emperor of Germany against Bohemia. He passed for a great prophet: the soldiers called him *blessed Father*. As he was returning to his convent in Spain, he visited the camp of the king, who asked his advice. The monk directed him to fire four hundred cannon-shot against the town, after which it would infallibly surrender. The four hundred shot were fired, but the town did not surrender.

The siege lasted two months and a half, and the royal army attempted, without success, several assaults. At last, after considerable losses, the unfavorable season having arrived, Louis

XIII. discouraged, with tears in his eyes, was forced to withdraw. He raised the siege the 2d of November. "The people of Montauban," says an historian, "were apprised of the speedy decampment of the army by a soldier of the religion, who, the evening before the raising of the siege, played upon his flute the commencement of the sixty-eighth Psalm. The besieged took that for the signal of their deliverance, and were not mistaken."¹

The war was resumed in 1622, and conducted with an unheard-of rigor. The prisoners were treated as rebels. They executed some upon the spot, and sent others to the galleys. The Marquis de la Force, terrified by the dangers which threatened his person and his house, made a special treaty by which he delivered up St. Foy and the Lower Guyenne. Many of the Calvinist chiefs were intimidated or gained with him, so that defections brought to the Huguenots still more evil than defeats.

The little town of Nègrepelisse, near Montauban, was the object of horrible retaliation. All the inhabitants were put to the sword: they were accused of having the previous winter massacred the Catholic garrison. Mothers, who had swam the river with their infants in their arms, could obtain no mercy from soldiers who waited for them on the other bank, and killed them there. In half an hour the inhabitants were all butchered, and the streets were so clogged with the dead and their blood, they could hardly be passed. Those who saved themselves in the castle were compelled the next day to surrender at discretion, and were all hanged.²

Another borough of the same region, St. Antonin, attempted to defend itself: the women even armed themselves with sickles and halberds. But the place could not long resist the royal army. They permitted the garrison to retire from the town, with a white

¹ Elias Bénédict, t. II. p. 377.

² Le Mercure Français, t. VIII. p. 637.

staff in the hand. Ten *bourgeois* were hung with the pastor, a former monk of the order of the Cordeliers. The population were exempted from pillage by a contribution—the historians of the time probably exaggerate the sum—of fifty thousand crowns.

To sanctify this war, so full at once of cruelty and treason, the lords and captains of the king's army performed great devotions at Toulouse. The Prince de Condé, the Duke de Vendôme, the Duke de Chevreuse, went to confession, and communed with six hundred gentlemen, their friends. Some were received into the fraternity of the Blue Penitents: "which," says a chronicler, "has this advantage, that, while it demands nothing, it grants great indulgences, even in the article of death."

The army arrived, the 30th of August, 1622, under the walls of Montpellier, which had a strong garrison of Huguenots. The siege was greatly protracted; and Louis XIII., fearing a failure similar to what he had experienced under the ramparts of Montauban, consented to treat with the Duke de Rohan for a general peace. The articles were agreed upon towards the middle of the month of October.

The king confirmed the Edict of Nantes, ordained the re-establishment of the two religions in the places where they had before been exercised, authorized the assemblies of the consistories, conferences, and synods for business purely ecclesiastical, but prohibited the holding of any political assembly without his express permission. The fortifications of Montpellier were to be demolished, and the affairs of the town administered by four consuls, whose nomination should rest with the king. The Calvinists preserved two places of surety, Montauban and La Rochelle.

This last town had been several times attacked during the wars, and was vigorously defended. It continued the struggle some time after the new edict of peace; but it finished by ac-

cepting it, stipulating for the preservation of its municipal franchises. Thus, after having shed streams of blood, and desolated several provinces of the kingdom, they returned almost to the point from which they had started.

V.

The treaty of 1622 was not, like so many others which had preceded it, simply a dead letter; and, to clearly understand the reasons for the new appeal to arms, which was ended in 1629 by the edict of pardon, we must expose at some length the false position into which the maxims of intolerance, boldly resumed after the death of Henry IV., had brought the two parties.

The Calvinists, continually troubled in the exercise of their religion, forced to have arms at their hands even in their temples, and menaced with the loss of all the rights they had obtained by the Edict of Nantes, were disaffected towards royalty. They suspected it of secret designs and perfidious projects. They accused it of encouraging, at least by its indifference, the Jesuits, the bishops, the violent magistrates, the mob, who, not only enfeebled them by numberless vexations, but daringly announced the approaching extirpation of the heresy.

It necessarily resulted from simple religious communion, that the French Reformation always was tending towards a political party, and that, by the very nature of things, in proportion as the conflict was prolonged, the thoughts and feelings of the people became more hostile to the crown. The spirit of independence had increased among the Huguenots with the persecutions they suffered, with the menaces of destruction suspended over their heads; and some even ventured to think of a republican establishment.

They constituted then, during the first years of the reign of Louis XIII., a great party, relying in the kingdom upon malcontents of all opinions, and without upon Protestant Europe. They communicated by La Rochelle with England, by Sedan with Germany, by Geneva with the Swiss Cantons, and appeared always ready to divide the force of the State.

Such an organization was intolerable for the crown, and offensive in proportion as the principle of national unity disengaged itself more from the ruins of ancient feudalism. The more the great families had been humbled before the royal authority, the more did they see in the political establishment of the Huguenots a singular, a dangerous anomaly, and the council had reason to desire, at any price, to get rid of it.

But in consequence of the unfortunate confusion which was universal, at this epoch, between temporal and spiritual matters, royalty, always announcing that it combated only the political privileges of the Calvinists, plunged them deeper and deeper in peril: it compromised all their religious rights. It is known that behind men of State, and even in their own bosoms, there were restless spirits who, after they had reduced the Calvinists to only a simple sect, would compel them to return to the Catholic Church, or leave the kingdom.

It is true that the genius of Cardinal Richelieu, his diplomatic alliances, and the European interests of France, during half the reign of Louis XIV., retarded the complete realization of these fears. But we shall see that the plan of extirpation of the heresy was pursued in detail, without cessation, throughout France, from the time the Calvinist party had been subdued. The taking of La Rochelle was the first act of this cruel and pitiless drama, of which the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the denouement.

Such was the state of things in 1622; the Calvinists, at least

the most determined, drawing the sword in favor of their political immunities, in the name of their religious rights, always compromised, always threatened; and the crown attacking these immunities in the name of the royal sovereignty and the unity of the country, to reach at last the destruction of religion itself.

As to the respective forces of the two parties, they were augmented on the one side, and diminished on the other, after the wars of the sixteenth century. In spite of the attempts of a few great nobles, the authority of the prince was more generally recognized, respected, and obeyed. The inferior nobility, the *Tiers-Etats*, the magistracy, and the army had, under the reign of Henry IV., abandoned the feudal traditions to obey royalty alone, and this new spirit had naturally modified the sentiments of many of the Protestants who followed, unconsciously perhaps, the great national current. On the other side, the Calvinist towns and leaders who asserted their privileges, had no longer the same faith nor the same enthusiasm. There was disunion, distrust, dejection among the low, desertions among the high, in the French Reformation. It could still command respect in the domestic or foreign difficulties of the kingdom; but it could no longer bind together province with province, nor dictate conditions of peace.

The Dukes de Rohan and de Soubise, endangered in their personal security after the treaty of 1622, made armed reprisals in Languedoc and the Saintonge. It was a war of partisans—nothing more than sieges of boroughs or fortified castles, and of devastations. The royal troops committed great ravages around Montauban and Castres. “At night,” say the memoirs of the times, “could be seen a thousand fires on the plain. Grain, fruit-trees, vineyards, and houses fed the conflagration. . . . The devastation was so complete they left not a tree or house standing, not a vine stump or blade of corn.”

Most of the Huguenots remained at home, and the Duke de Rohan complained bitterly. "It is more difficult," said he, "to combat the cowardice, the irreligion, and the infidelity of the Protestants than the malignity of their enemy."

At the commencement of new troubles, a National Synod had been convoked at Charenton. It opened the 1st of September, 1623. The place was acceptable to the court, since its proximity to Paris guaranteed the docility of the assembly. The Synod was ordered to admit a royal officer to its assemblies. This commissary, named Galland, was a Protestant, but his mandate rendered him suspected. The deputies of the churches, supporting themselves on the letter of the treaties, and refusing to the crown the right of establishing a new measure of so much consequence by a simple ordinance, opposed many objections; but they were obliged to yield, and to content themselves with inserting in their verbal processes the following declaration: "This Synod, wishing to give distinct evidences, and those which cannot be doubted, of their obedience and fidelity to the king, admit the said seigneur Galland among the deputies, . . . confident that his majesty will re-establish us by his royal grace in our ancient liberties and privileges."

A second article, less explicable than the preceding, was that the king expressed his displeasure at the subject of the oath which the National Synod of Alais had borrowed, three years before, from the doctrine of Dordrecht. The deputies still continued to submit; but they replied that this doctrine was conformable to that of their Confession of Faith, and that the Synod of Alais had no other design than to certify the perfect union of the Reformers of France with those of the Low Countries.

A third injunction concerned foreign pastors who had been allowed to exercise their office in the kingdom. The king wrote that he would permit it no longer, and demanded the immediate

dismissal of Primrose and Cameron, both originally from Scotland, ministers at Bordeaux: "Not so much on account of their being foreigners," said Louis XIII., "but particularly for reasons which regard our government."

The principal of these reasons was they had displeased the Jesuits, especially Primrose. Hence he did not even obtain, as did Cameron, permission to reside in the kingdom, on renouncing his pastoral charge.

One day father Arnoux, confessor of the king, preaching before the court, had solemnly affirmed that the casuists of his brotherhood did not authorize the killing of the king; and Louis XIII. had signified to him his great satisfaction therewith. Primrose, who was present, demanded of the Jesuit, whether Jacques Clément had killed *his king*, or even *a king*, by stabbing a prince *excommunicated by the Pope*; and further, whether, in case the Holy See should excommunicate his reigning majesty, the Jesuits would still acknowledge Louis XIII. for *their king*; and, finally, if they were disposed to condemn their followers Jean Châtel and Ravailac, as chargeable with the crime of high treason. These questions were embarrassing: Arnoux replied only by a sentence of banishment.

At the National Synod of Castres, convoked in 1626, the royal officer Galland took his seat again, notwithstanding the protestations of the assembly. He brought the order to nominate six persons, from whom the king would choose the two general deputies. This election had been made till that time by the political assemblies, and the Synod alleged the texts of the last edict, which restricted their attention to affairs of doctrine and discipline. But the court, without having said it expressly in the last treaties, would no longer tolerate political assemblies, and in this case forced the Synod to transgress its powers, while confining them with an inflexible rigor upon other questions. Thus the

council maintained or reversed the law which they had made, according as they found it for their advantage,—the universal and perpetual practice of the stronger party.

The Synod of Castres made great complaints on the unfortunate condition of the churches. They said to Louis XIII., "that his subjects of the Reformed religion were molested in many places of the kingdom, hindered in the exercise of their religion, and deprived of their temples; that even their cemeteries had been taken from them, and that their dead had been disinterred with the most outrageous indignity; that their ministers had been cruelly treated, beaten, wounded, torn, and driven from their churches, although they were entirely innocent, injuring neither the public in general, nor private individuals."

The court gave satisfaction to the Reformers on some secondary points; but they prepared against their last fortress a formidable expedition. Cardinal Richelieu, who had been a member of the council since the year 1624, formed the design of establishing the absolute authority of the king on the ruins of La Rochelle. They concealed it no longer. Louis XIII. announced it to the Pope, who had manifested much ill-humor at the announcement of the new treaty with the Huguenots. The priests proclaimed the approaching triumph of the Catholic faith, and the Archbishop of Lyons wrote to Richelieu: "We must besiege La Rochelle, and chastise, or rather exterminate, the Huguenots immediately."

The commune of La Rochelle enjoyed privileges far in advance of the epoch of the Reformation. Elénore d'Aquitaine had granted it, during the twelfth century, great municipal privileges. The citizens governed themselves. They appointed a *Corps de ville*, composed of a mayor, twenty-four aldermen, and seventy-five peers. These hundred magistrates or *prud'hommes* had troops, a marine, a separate treasury, and very extensive

rights of jurisdiction. La Rochelle was more annexed than united to France, and its position resembled that of the free cities of Germany.

To justify its pretensions, it said it had surrendered itself voluntarily to the king, Charles V., under the express reservation of all its franchises and immunities, and the Rochellese remembered with pride that they had exacted from Louis XI. the solemn sanction of their rights. "Louis XI.," says the historian of this city, "made his entry into La Rochelle on the 24th of May, 1472. He swore to preserve the privileges of the town; he uttered the oath on his knees, holding one hand upon the cross, the other upon the Holy Gospels, which the mayor presented him."¹

A governor resided there by the appointment of the king; but the citizens did not permit him to introduce a strong garrison, nor establish a citadel. Its real head was the mayor, whom they elected annually. The Rochellese were rich, industrious, intelligent, good seamen; they numbered a population of twenty-five or thirty thousand souls.

The Reformation received from them a cordial reception; for wherever light and liberty were enjoyed, the doors were opened in advance. It was recognized at La Rochelle in the year 1557. "This first beginning was so favored of God," says Theodore de Bèze, "that in a short time a great part of the town abandoned the superstitions of the Roman Church, the Lord preparing this place to sustain at some future day the strongest efforts of its enemies."²

La Rochelle had been several times besieged in the wars of religion without ever being taken. Condé, Coligny, Jeanne d'Albret, Henry de Béarn, had found in its walls a sure refuge.

¹ *Arcère, Hist. de La Rochelle*, t. I. p. 238.

² T. I. p. 88.

The political assemblies were held there at the most trying crises. It was, in a word, the strongest rampart, and the *grand place d'armes* of the French Reformation, when the north and the centre of the kingdom could furnish no point of rallying.

The independence of La Rochelle was likewise important to the lords of the Catholic party, since it offered them a means of demanding from royalty a greater price for the succors they furnished the king, and of preserving the last remains of their feudal prerogatives. "We shall not be so foolish," said one of them, "as to take La Rochelle;" and Cardinal Richelieu made this remark: "The greatest difficulty I see in this plan is, that nearly all will work there coolly and with little affection."

After the peace of 1622, the court had ordered a fort to be erected in the environs of La Rochelle, notwithstanding the complaints of the inhabitants, and the assurance given to respect their privileges. Hence there were continual collisions on land and sea, which produced no decisive result until 1627.

Richelieu desired at last to strike a grand blow, by employing all the forces of his genius and all the resources of the crown. He attached his political fortune to the capture of La Rochelle, being persuaded that if he conducted this expedition successfully, he could crush the party of the Huguenots, humble the first families of the kingdom, and leave but a single power triumphant in France—royalty.

VI.

The siege of La Rochelle began in 1627, and lasted more than a year, under the gaze of Europe. The King of England had promised the Rochellese aid and support. Three times her fleet appeared in sight of the port; but the first time, it could not take

the citadel of the Isle of Ré; the second, it did not succeed in supplying the place with provisions; and the third, it seemed to come only to witness the ruin of the town. It was supposed that the Duke of Buckingham had betrayed the cause of the Reformed communion, and that Charles I. had taken part in these perfidious manœuvres, under the influence of his wife, Henriette of France. The Puritans of England had not forgotten this grievance, when they settled the account of the acts of this unfortunate prince in 1649.

Cardinal de Richelieu had a dike constructed into the sea, as Alexander did before Tyre, and inclosed the besieged in a circle constantly diminishing. He was every thing—admiral, chief-engineer, generalissimo: he surveyed, directed all, and allowed Louis XIII. only the idle pleasure of the chase, or of touching the sick at the great festivals of the Church. The miracles of the king were cited with éclat: those of the cardinal were more authentic and more useful to the monarchy.

A journal has been published, written by one of the besieged, Pierre Mérauault, son of the chief of artillery of the garrison. He relates in detail the sufferings of the inhabitants. As the môle was raised before the roadstead, the famine increased. It became horrible, from the month of June, 1628. Two or three hundred persons died daily. The famished inhabitants had acquired so sad an acquaintance with this kind of death, that they could foresee the precise hour and moment when they would cease to live, and they ordered their coffins beforehand.

They sent out, in this great distress, companies of children, women, and old men. But Louis XIII. was not as generous as his father, Henry IV., at the siege of Paris. He ordered them to be driven back without mercy, and even directed his soldiers to fire on the poor people who stopped to gather roots and herbs on the glacis, or to collect the shell-fish brought up by the tides.

He also commanded them to destroy the crops of beans the besieged had cultivated at the foot of their counterscarps.

Some fugitives, urged on by the inexorable gnawing of hunger, continuing to present themselves at the royal camp, they erected gibbets for their summary execution ; and when they came in too great numbers, they cast lots for the names of those who should be hanged. Others, stripped of their garments, were chased by the soldiery with sticks and lashes. They desired, in sending them back into the town, to increase the number to be fed.

Where were the co-religionists of the Rochellese ? What were they doing in this final struggle, when their political existence was at stake ? The Duke de Rohan went to Uzès, to Milhau, to Nîmes, into the Cevennes, from one end of Languedoc to the other, exhorting the Huguenots to rise in defence of the common cause ; but he encountered almost everywhere timid minds and cold hearts, or consciences bribed by the favors of the court. He repeated in vain the motto which his mother, the Duchess dowager de Rohan, had reminded him of from the depth of her asylum at La Rochelle—*Entire victory, assured peace, or honorable death* : instead of arming themselves and following him, they heaped accusations upon him.

Let us read his complaint of their indifference in the preface to his *Memoires*. His language is bitter : it is that of a chief of an unfortunate party, but it serves to paint the physiognomy of the epoch : " In the two first wars divisions appeared in a few places ; in the last, they broke forth everywhere,—there was no place where corruption had not insinuated itself, and where avarice had not so far suppressed piety, that, without waiting for the invitation of our enemies, they prostituted themselves to sell their religion and betray their party. Our fathers would have stifled their children in their cradle, if they had seen that they would be instruments of the ruin of the churches they had

erected by the light of funeral piles, and multiplied in spite of executions.’

In retrenching from these accusations what has been exaggerated by the irritation of defeat, it still remains true that the great mass of the Reformers did not assist in this last war: some, as we have already explained, on account of the national impulse which submitted every thing to the king’s authority; others, because they were tired of those struggles which cost so much blood, and yielded no advantage: some, because they did not perceive the bond which united their religious liberty with their political securities; others still, by indifference, venality, or that sort of prudence which discerns better the greatness of peril than the means of escaping it.

The fact is worthy of notice, for several historians assert, that the whole Protestant population arose against the crown in 1628, and was vanquished. These historians are mistaken: most of the Calvinists refused to take up arms. If it be a title of honor for them, let them wear it: if it be a shame, let them bear the load.

The Rochellese, however, continued to perform prodigies of valor and heroism, under the conduct of their mayor, Jean Guilton, an experienced mariner and inflexible man, who had said: “While there shall remain a single inhabitant, the gates shall remain shut.”

But, at last, when all hope of receiving succor from abroad or from the interior was lost; when two-thirds of the population had perished, so that the streets and the houses were encumbered with the dead whom they had no longer strength to bury, and there were found no men capable of sustaining the weights of their arms, or of walking without a staff, the town surrendered. It was the 28th of October, 1628. That very day the Protestants of France fell at the discretion of their enemies, and never rose

again till a hundred and sixty years after, through the principles of 1789.

The calamity had not broken the courage of the Rochellese, and we are astonished that Richelieu, who could comprehend great things, has rendered them so little justice. "The audacity which ever accompanies rebellion," says he, in his memoirs, "was so deeply stamped on the souls of the wretches, that although they were but shadows of living men, and held no tenure on life, except through the unmerited clemency of the king, they still dared to propose in earnest to the cardinal, to make a general treaty for all their party." This proved that the Rochellese were more anxious for the fate of their co-religionists than the latter were for them in their grand calamity.

A proclamation of the king, published the 10th of November, ordained the re-establishment of the Catholic religion at La Rochelle, and the restoration of the churches and possessions to the clergy. A place of worship was to be designated for the services of the Protestants. The privileges of the town were abolished, its franchises annulled, and its fortifications were all to be demolished, except those which looked on the sea. Cardinal Richelieu and Bishop Henry de Sourdis, who had done the work of soldiers during the siege, celebrated the first mass at La Rochelle, after having purified the churches. Perhaps the hands which had just wielded arms, should have commenced by purifying themselves before taking the host of the *Prince of Peace*. But the history of humanity is replete with these offensive contradictions.

There were great rejoicings at Rome for the capture of La Rochelle. Pope Urban VIII. chanted a solemn *Te Deum*, made an extraordinary distribution of indulgences, and addressed to the king the most flattering briefs: "Great Prince," said he, "God is seated at your right hand. May he always aid and support the energy and power of your lance."

The Duke de Rohan continued to carry on the campaign in the south until the middle of the following year. He displayed a courage, a constancy, a self-denial, worthy of a better fate. An assembly of deputies of the provinces, convened at Nismes, protested boldly against the destruction of the political guarantees of the Reformation. But it was too late. The Calvinist party existed no longer. Every town, every borough, refusing to obey the assembly, proposed to manage its own affairs by itself, and divisions, defections, and treasons, completed the overthrow of the common cause.

The royal army presented itself before the little town of Privas, in the month of May, 1629. The inhabitants, seized with a terrible panic, fled into the country, and the garrison, which had retired into the fort, was soon obliged to capitulate. The moment the troops entered, the explosion of a powder magazine induced them to believe it a wilful murder. Eight hundred Huguenot soldiers were massacred, fifty *bourgeois* hanged, the rest sent to the galleys, the town sacked and burnt, and the property of the inhabitants confiscated to the crown. The missionaries, who marched with the army to convert the heretics, said that this catastrophe was an *effect of celestial wrath*.

The merciless butchery of Privas produced consternation and terror everywhere. The king marched along the borders of the Cevennes without encountering resistance; and the Duke de Rohan, seeing that the affairs of the party were desperate, solicited peace, in concert with the general assembly transferred to Anduze. Richelieu imposed, as a first condition, that all the fortifications of the Huguenot towns should be razed. Anduze and the province of the Cevennes submitted after some opposition, and the king, who was at Nismes, published the *Edict of Pardon*, in the month of July, 1629.

The very name of this edict marked a new order of things. It

was no more a pacification, it was a *pardon*—a pardon granted by the clemency of the prince to his vanquished subjects. The preamble spoke only of their *rebellion* and the goodness of the king: “to which we are so much more cheerfully disposed,” they made Louis XIII. say, “as we have desired by a rare example of clemency, after so many relapses, to gain more advantageously the hearts of our subjects, to spare blood, the devastation of the province, and all the disorders and calamities of war, being moved to this by simple compassion for their misery and love for their good.”

The Protestants were put in possession of their temples, their cemeteries, and the exercise of their religion in the places where it was formerly practised, on condition they returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church, “in which,” added Louis XIII., “for more than eleven successive centuries, the kings, our predecessors, have lived without any interruption or change, being unable to testify to them better the affection which we bear them than to desire them to follow the same way of salvation which we hold and follow ourselves.”

There was a menace in this hope, and the priests did not fail to take advantage of it at a convenient time. We shall also see that Cardinal Richelieu, who, aspiring to every kind of glory, flattered himself with the prospect of reuniting the two religions.

The conditions of the edict of pardon were less severe than they had feared, except upon the political guarantees, and some authors have exalted very high the clemency of the cardinal. If they wish to say that he was more tolerant than other clergy, because he had more genius, and understood better the duties of a statesman, we readily grant it. But we must not forget that Richelieu, having leagued himself with the Protestants of Germany and Sweden, to humble the house of Austria, by the sword of Gustavus Adolphus, could not treat the Re-

formers of France with unmitigated severity. Furthermore, we must not forget that in France itself, having to struggle against the great Catholic lords, against the brother of the king, the queen-mother, and the reigning queen, the prime minister of Louis XIII. would have been very foolish to attempt to drive a whole people to despair, who, in a last extremity, would have been able to endanger his fortune and that of the kingdom. Richelieu was generous perhaps, but, above all, he was politic.

The town of Montauban was the last to submit. It remembered with pride the heroic resistance it had opposed to the troops of the king, and its inhabitants, accustomed during the wars of religion to self-government, felt a great repugnance to *submit themselves to their duty*, as the phrase then went. Two deputies came from Nîmes with an envoy of Richelieu to exhort them to submission. The people desired to preserve their ramparts; but they obtained nothing, and the most determined clearly saw that resistance had become impossible.

Montauban opened its gates; and on the 21st of August, 1629, they saw entering within their walls the Marshal de Bassompierre with a part of the army, the nuncio of the Pope, the first president of the Parliament of Toulouse, and, last of all, Cardinal Richelieu, who presented himself in triumph. When the ministers of *the religion* came to salute him, he consented to receive them, *not as members of an ecclesiastical society*, said he to them, *but as people who follow the profession of letters*. This was carrying the fiction a little too far.

He celebrated mass in one of the churches of Montauban, instituted convents of Jesuits and Capuchins, and ordered the demolition of the walls to be begun. He then returned to Paris, attended with more homage than Louis XIII. received from his people.

The Duke de Rohan was exposed to the attacks of his co-

religionists, who, having become unjust by misfortune, accused him of all their calamities. He wrote his vindication with the tone of a clear conscience, and closed in these terms : "These are my crimes, for which I have been condemned at Toulouse to be drawn in four quarters, over which I exult. . . . I pray that those who come after me may have as much affection, fidelity, and patience, as I have had : that they may encounter people more constant, less avaricious, and more zealous than I have done, and that God may grant them more prosperity, to the end that in restoring the churches of France, they may complete what I have dared to undertake."

His wishes have been realized differently from what he expected. Henry de Rohan was the last chief to lay down his arms in the French Reformation, but what the sword could not achieve, civilization and liberty have accomplished in God's appointed time.

Rohan offered his sword to the Republic of Venice, then to Gustavus Adolphus, and died in 1638, on the soil of Germany, for the same cause he had so long and so valiantly defended in his own country.

VII.

The Calvinist party had definitively offered their submission after the taking of La Rochelle, and the history of the Protestants will no more be mingled with the great affairs of the kingdom until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

It was in vain that some personages of highest birth, who belonged to the Catholic communion, provoked them to resume their arms : there were no more Huguenots in the ranks of the enemies of royalty.

In 1632, the Duke Henry de Montmorency, supported by Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIII., attempted to inflame religious passions in Languedoc, of which he was governor. He addressed himself to the Protestant nobles, the pastors, the consistories, the synods, but he everywhere encountered only refusals. He had in his party five or six bishops, but not a single Protestant. The second consul of Nîmes confirmed the city to the king, by driving away the bishop and the first consul, who was a Catholic. The inhabitants of Montauban offered to march against the troops of Montmorency; and, strange enough, the wretched remains of the inhabitants of Privas defended their place in behalf of the king. Cardinal Richelieu then said of the Protestants: "They have done more than everybody else."

About twenty years after, during the troubles of the *Fronde*, the great Condé, making the most of the memory of his family, desired to gather them under his standard, and employed emissaries, who scattered inflammatory reports. They went from church to church saying that the regent, Anne of Austria, had promised the clergy to revoke the edicts of pacification; that her prime minister, Mazarin, was an Italian cardinal, without honesty; that it was the only means which could preserve them from complete ruin, and that the Prince of Condé would guarantee them full liberty of conscience and worship. But these appeals were without effect.

The Rochellese sustained the part of the regent against their own governor. The Montaubanais furnished men and money for the same cause. The town of St. Jean d'Angeley, which had only dismantled walls, defended itself against the rebel troops. The Vivarais and the Cevennes furnished devoted soldiers, and almost all the Reformed noblesse of the southern provinces, having risen against the Prince of Condé, defended for the king the Languedoc, the Saintonge, and a part of the Guyenne.

These services were great. Cardinal Mazarin said: "I have no cause to complain of the little flock: if they browse on bad herbs, at least they do not stray." In speaking of the pastors of Montauban, he called them his good friends; and the Count of Harcourt said to the deputies of the same town: "The crown tottered on the head of the king, but you have made it firm."

Louis XIV. testified more than once his gratitude, particularly in his proclamation of the 21st of May, 1562. It read: "Inasmuch as our subjects of the pretended Reformed religion have given us proofs of their affection and fidelity, especially in the present circumstances, with which we are well satisfied, be it known that for these reasons they shall be supported and guarded, as in fact, we do support and guard them in the full enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes."

It is this same king who inflicted the most protracted, the most odious persecutions against those who had fastened the crown firmly on his head! It is he who signed in 1685 the fatal Edict of Revocation! What were the causes of so much violence and misfortune? We touch here upon one of the most interesting problems of this history.

The Protestants had implacable enemies in the men who swayed spiritual power. In the foremost rank figured the Jesuits, created expressly for the extirpation of Protestantism in Europe; born adversaries of the Huguenots, monks doubly formidable, in their quality of Confessors of Kings, and because their system authorized them to resort to any means. Falsehood, cheating, injustice, the traffic of consciences, brutal force, spoliations, banishments, murder itself—every thing was right if it secured their ends.

After the Jesuits came the secular clergy, who, with the exception of a few men, political rather than religious, as Richelieu and Mazarin, did not cease to invent new measures of oppression

and persecution against the heretics. They had, over the poor and humble ministers of the French Reformation, the advantage of numbers, birth, position, authority, fortune, high offices, and could do every thing to crush them without the fear of retaliation.

Every five years they held assemblies which did not adjourn, as we have already remarked, without cutting a new shred from the laws of tolerance. "The clergy," says Rulhières, "gave money to the king. They negotiated with this chief body of the State to obtain for the necessities of the realm what was called the *don gratuit*; and the Protestants, on the contrary, had need of the king's money for the support of their ministers and the holding of their synods. Every time they asked to assemble, it was a pecuniary favor they solicited; and every time the clergy assembled, it was a sort of favor they granted to the State. Thus each assembly of the clergy was marked by some advantage gained over them, and each synod, on the contrary, received from the court some mark of disfavor. . . . The demands of the clergy had some moderation, so long as the Calvinists were formidable; but they tended towards an open persecution, as soon as they became peaceable citizens."¹

At last, under the Jesuits and the clergy, legions of Capuchins, Récollets, Carmelites, Franciscans, and others, abounded: an ignorant and excitable class, who encouraged the fanaticism of the populace, and marched on every occasion to the assault of heresy.

So much for the spiritual power. As to those who held the temporal power, the foremost adversaries of the Reformation were the kings themselves, to whom an incomplete and false education had been given. Their instructors had placed them as much as possible under the yoke of a devotion, strict, intoler-

¹ *Eclaircissements histor.*, t. p. 48, 49.

ant, full of petty scruples on certain points, and inclined to remissness in others. Louis XIII. had neither greatness of mind, nor dignity of character. A weak prince, of a melancholy humor, placing his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin, after having caused the assassination of the favorites of his mother, he had no other merit than that of intrusting his government to Richelieu. Louis XIV., with a lofty genius and qualities truly royal, united bigotry to gallantry, and we shall take occasion to observe that, in his strange compromises of conscience, the more scandal he gave to his court by his disorders, the more he succeeded in edifying it by his severities against the Protestants.

Both held as a maxim of State that Calvinism must be enfeebled, as if men and things had been the same as under Charles IX. These princes had been taught that the Reformation was the enemy of thrones, and they thought they had never done enough against this vain phantom of their imagination.

It followed that the great offices of the court and the army, the magistracy and the finances, were systematically refused to the Calvinists, except in extraordinary cases. Turenne and Duquesne broke the barrier by the brilliancy of their services. Others were set aside, or condemned to grow old in subaltern employments. The Edict of Nantes had, without doubt, rendered the Protestants eligible to offices, but it had not guaranteed them the favors of the court and royalty; or, to use the very expressions of Louis XIV., "it confined them in narrower limits than justice and propriety could permit." Even these conditions were not long respected.

Louis XIV. says further, in the memoirs he dictated for the instruction of the Dauphin: "In reference to the favors which depended on myself alone, I resolved, and I have since carefully enough abstained from doing any favor to those of that

religion ; and this through *kindness*, not ill-will, in order to oblige them by it to reflect, from time to time, and *sans violence*, whether it was for good reasons that they voluntarily deprived themselves of the advantages they might have enjoyed in common with my other subjects." Nothing is more *naïf* or instructive as a whole than these avowals.

Ministers of State naturally followed in the wake of the prince. No favor to the heretics ; ill-will when they could, without wounding their acknowledged rights too openly, and a constant inequality of treatment, which impelled the lukewarm and the ambitious to change their religion.

The intendants of provinces, a new creation of government which aspired to constitute a stronger national unity, desiring the favors of the council and the court, did not fail to decide for the Jesuits against the pastors, for the bishops against the provincial synods or the consistories, whenever there was a pretext, however little plausible, to invoke.

The parliaments almost all acted in the same way, not through religious fanaticism, but that spirit which in every age, among pagans as well as Christians, has made the magistracy the guardian of ancient laws and traditional customs. The advocate-general, Omer Talon, said, in the solemn sittings of Poitiers, in 1634, that the pretended Reformers, being suffered only by tolerance, matters which concern them should not be reckoned among *favorable things*, but that on the contrary, the most rigorous interpretation should be applied to them. Thus, in the questions which were brought before the tribunals, they could only count on strict right, or rather on what could not be refused without the most flagrant injustice. Every severe sentence immediately became jurisprudence against them, and by restrictions on restrictions they lost successively what the Edict of Nantes had conceded to them.

The universities and colleges in which the clerical power was dominant, brought difficulties on difficulties in reference to the bestowment of academical degrees upon the *religionnaires*, and at last these degrees were given only on certificates of attendance at mass.

In regard to simple individuals of both religions, a distinction is to be made. Men of letters, those who belonged to the upper *bourgeoisie*, *honest people*, in the language of the age, lived generally in harmony. It was known that the French Academy was founded by members of both communions. Such was also the origin of many learned societies, at Nismes and elsewhere. "It was long before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes," says Segrais, "that Catholics and Huguenots lived here (at Caen) on good terms, that they ate, drank, played, diverted themselves together, and parted freely, some to attend mass, others to attend preaching, without any offence on one side or the other."

But among the popular masses, more subjected to the teaching of the priesthood, prejudice and hate existed. Hence sprung vexations in the *maitrises*, wardenships, corporations of tradesmen, and in the petty offices which depended on the municipal councils. Hence, also, the violence under the slightest pretexts, the outrages against the temples, against property, against individuals, and, when they dared, more regular, more general attacks, led on habitually by some ignorant parish vicar or abject monk.

We can judge by the foregoing of the condition of the Protestants after the edict of pardon. They had at intervals, days of repose, which permitted them to apply themselves to theological studies, to extend general instruction, and to cultivate the industrial arts. But this repose was uncertain; this calm restless, so to speak; and the persecution soon increased, so that the moment

appeared favorable for the annihilation of the French Protestants. We shall relate that which is of the most importance.¹

VIII.

Cardinal Richelieu, who had written in the leisure of his youth, a *Méthode des controverses*, was anxious to execute his plan of union. He sounded the pastors and the provincial synods by his confidant, father Joseph, a mysterious personage, but intriguing, crafty, and active; and he was seconded in his work by a certain Theophilus de la Milletière, an equivocal Calvinist, a writer of indifferent learning, and ambitious of making himself a name by advocating schemes, whose import he did not comprehend.

Among the persons who lent themselves to this project, were reckoned able men, who wished to quit, without dishonor, a religion little acceptable to power, simple men who ingeniously supposed that Catholicism was willing to make serious concessions, and good people who brought every thing to a question of charity. Among the number of these last was found, for some time, a man of merit, Petit, pastor and Professor of Theology at Nismes.

But it soon appeared that, under the pompous word union, the question was no other than that of an act of repentance on the part of the Calvinists, and of gracious amnesty on the part of the Catholics. There was no greater change than that of a few terms which offended the ear of the disciples of Calvin. They

¹ If one wishes to understand in detail the situation of the Protestants at this epoch, he should read *L'Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*, by Elias Benoit. The author has filled five quarto volumes with an account of the vexations, injustice, violences, persecutions, etc., which his co-religionists endured from the reign of Henry IV. to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

were to have gained certain pastors in advance, who, for form's sake, were to discuss with the Catholic doctors in presence of the king, and oppose no serious objection to them. Subsequently they were to ask admission as penitents, and the Roman Church, like a kind mother, was to open her arms to receive them. They were, in fine, to labor to convene a National Synod composed wholly of these people, made of pliable material, and the project of union once officially adopted, the main force would be employed in bringing the refractory to submission, or in driving them from the kingdom.

The plan was skilfully contrived, but they had not taken enough into account loyal and honest consciences. It failed. The pastors showed themselves *opinionated*, and, what is remarkable, the laity were still more so. Not a single provincial synod supported the plot. Petit saw his mistake; La Millitière was excommunicated, and became openly a Catholic; Richelieu had other affairs to attend to, and the idea of union was abandoned, to be resumed two or three times before the revocation.

The clergy employed different means for destroying the heresy, viz., missionaries, itinerant controversialists, otherwise named *convertisseurs*, or *propagators of the faith*. They began their work in the year 1630. Some were monks, Capuchins, and Récollets, of whom Fenelon says, somewhere, that they had incurred, by their ignorance and their fanatical transports, universal contempt. Others were laymen of low condition, shoemakers, knife-grinders, tailors, curiosity-sellers, petty merchants, who, without any study, left their business to become the champions of the Catholic faith.

These vagabonds received a definite sum for every proselyte, and the amount varied according to the importance of the one converted. They took care to secure certificates of their conquests, duly authenticated, to make sure of their money. Fraud

mingled with these attempts, as would be expected. There were wretches who embraced the Reformed communion expressly to leave it, or feigned to belong to it in order to abjure, and who divided the proceeds with their accomplices.

The converters had learned by heart a catalogue of ridiculous subtleties and stupid quibbles, which they recited on every occasion. The refutation, of what was less disgraceful in this controversy, had been made by the hand of a master, the pastor Drelincourt, in his *Abrégé des controverses*. Hence they called him the scourge of the propagators of the faith.

One of their favorite arguments consisted in putting this question: Do you believe that the king being an idolater would be damned? If they said yes, they made a great affair of it, which was attended with bad results, especially to those who occupied some public office. If they said no, they asked why they refused to enter a church which opened the door of salvation? Or, again, if they met a vigorous opposition, they urged their interlocutor to pronounce irreverent words in reference to the Virgin and the Saints; and as the laws then punished this, which was called blasphemy, they went away to denounce the guilty.

Having for protectors the priests and the Jesuits, the most part of these converters were as insolent as they were ignorant. They ran from town to town, knocking at the doors of the consistories and synods. They even entered by force private houses, sometimes by the aid of the judges of the place, and began a controversy *en règle*. When politely invited to retire, they kept on. If, in a moment of ill-humor, they were put out of doors, they endeavored to secure some act of violence against themselves before witnesses in the public street, and immediately brought complaint to a tribunal.

Some carried their impudence so far as to interrupt the pastors in full assembly, and to give them the lie. These disgrace-

ful insults exposed them in the highest degree to murmurs and words of censure; no one dared to chastise them as they deserved. If an assembly, less patient than others, forced them into the street, and there resulted from it a slight tumult, they had to fear the interdiction of their religious exercises, or even the imprisonment of the pastor.

So they elevated their trestles at the crossways; and there these jugglers of a new sort, having by their side piles of great books, the first word of which they had not read, they blattered upon points of controversy, parodied the ministers, and diverted or excited the populace by their vociferations.

The most famous of these converters was a certain Véron, or Father Véron. He wore the habit of a Jesuit, and they gave him the cure of Charenton, that he might annoy the neighboring Protestants. This Véron frequently attended the sermons of the pastors, and when the service was finished, refuted them upon a kind of stage, which had been erected at the door of his church. He fatigued, by his defiances, the most learned doctors of the Reformed party. The celebrated Bochart had once the condescension to open a regular discussion with him, but Véron gave up before the questions he had himself proposed were examined, and the pastors ended by opposing nothing but the silence of contempt.

All these attempts at conversion met, however, with very little success. Not only men of some study, but artisans, women, even children of the Reformed communion, were practised in matters of controversy, and easily confounded the *soi-disant* propagators of the faith. So, after the pacific mission came the armed mission, the mission *bottée*, of which we shall speak in its place.

From 1631 to 1645 there were three National Synods. The court undertook to render them more and more infrequent, until

it could secure their entire suppression. The first of these assemblies opened at Charenton, the 1st of September, 1631. The commissary, Galland, took his seat without difficulty. Pastors and laity, all had a sad heart and a humble attitude: they felt that they were at the mercy of their adversaries.

The king designated the general deputies whose nomination would be agreeable to him, and the synod obeyed. Afterwards they wished but one general deputy, the formality of whose re-election was dispensed with. This high office centered in the family of the Marquis de Ruigny, and the churches vainly asked permission to add a general deputy of the *Tiers-Etat*. The liberal spirit of the Reformation was not agreeable to Louis XIV.

The Synod of Charenton declared itself against the projects of accommodation with the Catholics; but they offered a fraternal hand to the Lutherans, who, till then, had not been admitted to the Supper of the Calvinists. "Because the churches of the Confession of Augsburg," said they, "agree with the other Reformed churches in the fundamental points of the true religion, and because there is neither superstition nor idolatry in their worship, the faithful of the said confession, who, by a spirit of friendship and peace, will join in the communion of our churches in this kingdom, may, without any abjuration, be received to the table of the Lord."

To the list of grievances drawn up at Charenton, the king was unwilling to answer until after the adjournment of the synod: "In order," said he, "to treat with his subjects in a manner more conformable to the requirements of his sovereign dignity, and the sacred authority of his word." The genius and tone of Richelieu could be easily recognized here.

Another National Synod opened in the month of May, 1637, in the town of Alençon. M. de St. Marc, Counsellor of State

and commissary of the king, spoke in a haughty tone: "I have come to your synod to communicate the will of his majesty. All authority is from God, and, consequently, upon this immovable foundation, you should obey. Besides, the kindness of his majesty, and the care he takes of you, oblige you to it; his clemency and his power are the strongest supports you can have. I do not doubt that you have often reflected on the admirable providence of God, who orders that the royal authority of his majesty is your salvation." The moderator, Basnage, replied to M. de St. Marc, that the churches had never had the least thought of departing from the submission enjoined on them by the word of God.

The king prohibited the pastors and elders from corresponding synod with synod, or with foreign ecclesiastical bodies; and, as several letters arrived from Geneva and Holland, they surrendered them all, sealed to the commissary, who, after having examined them, permitted them to be read to the assembly. These letters treated of some points of doctrine raised by Amyraut, Professor of the Academy of Saumur. We shall return to this matter elsewhere.

The synod occupied itself with the slavery of the negroes, a question little agitated in the seventeenth century, and which excited little attention in the assemblies of the Catholic clergy. It was their opinion, that the word of God did not prohibit the buying and keeping of slaves; but it affixed conditions far advanced for the age: "This assembly, confirming the canon made by the provincial Synod of Normandy, exhorts the faithful not to abuse this liberty in a manner which may be contrary to the rules of Christian charity, and not to send back these unbelievers into the power of the barbarians, who could treat them inhumanly, or to place them in the hands of cruel persons, but to give them to kind Christians, who may be in a condition to take care

of their precious and immortal souls, by attempting to instruct them in the Christian religion."

A third National Synod was held at Charenton, at the end of the year 1644, a little after the death of Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII. The king's commissary took the singular step of complaining, first of the encroachments and usurpations of the Reformed churches, to prevent them, apparently, from exclaiming too loudly against the acts of injustice they themselves had to suffer. He afterwards related the wishes of the king, among which was the order to exclude from the evangelical ministry those who had studied in Geneva, Holland, or England, because in those countries a republican spirit prevailed. It was the time of the struggles of Cromwell and the Puritans against Charles I.

Upon the report of some deputies of maritime provinces, there was the question of the *Independents* who had come from England, and established themselves in France. They were reproached with teaching that every flock should govern itself, without having any regard to the authority of conferences and synods. The assembly, considering this opinion as prejudicial to the interests of the Church of God and to those of the State, enjoined it on the maritime provinces to forbid that the evil should take root in the kingdom.

IX.

From 1652 to 1656, the situation of the Protestants was tolerable. Mazarin was mindful for the fidelity they gave proof of in the troubles of the *Fronde*. He was anxious also to conciliate them by kind treatment towards the friends of Cromwell, who, in turning from the side of France or Spain, then at war with each other, could throw a decisive weight into the scale.

The free exercise of the religion was re-established in several places where it had been suppressed, contrary to the text of the edicts. The Protestants re-entered the municipal offices; some held important places in the finances and in the army. The proclamation of 1652, which we have already had occasion to notice, confirmed the Edict of Nantes, and the rules, articles, and decrees enacted in favor of the Protestants. Never, since the reign of Henry IV., had they respired more freely, or enjoyed greater protection.

But this interval was brief. The assembly of the clergy convened in 1656, made, by means of the Archbishop of Sens, bitter complaints against what was called the *oppression* of the Catholic Church. Unable longer to be persecutors, the priests declared themselves persecuted. They doubtless did not demand the revocation of the edicts, but they desired the re-establishment of the *legitimate interpretations which had been given by the late king*. They bitterly complained that the heretics had ruined by new enterprises all the wise precautions by which this great prince (Louis XIII.) had allayed the restlessness of their spirit, and supposed that the proclamation of 1652 had been a surprise, made by the piety of Louis XIV. and his prime minister.

As the Protestants had constructed temples on possessions belonging to a commander of Malta, and to other ecclesiastical lords, the assembly of the clergy pretended that they had erected *synagogues of Satan on the patrimony of the Son of God*. These same priests invoked the examples of St. Ambrose and St. Athanasius, who had refused temples to the Arian Heresy, to demand the demolition of the new religious edifices. They insinuated that the presentation of lists of grievances to the king demonstrated the re-establishment of the political assemblies prohibited by the edicts; that the collections made in favor of the Vaudois of Piedmont concealed a formidable plot, and might be followed

by *warlike and dangerous* enterprises ; that the fortifications of several Huguenot towns had been rebuilt, and that the town of Montauban, among others, was fortified with seventeen bastions. They accused the *deserters of the faith of their fathers* of aspiring to the most important dignities of the State ; and their language closed with a pathetic appeal for the protection of the king, as if the Catholic Church of France had been reduced to an extremity !

We have analyzed with some care the discourse of the orator of the clergy ; for it was from this moment we must mark a new period of persecutions and cruelties, which did not cease till the revocation.

Mazarin did not grant all that the priests demanded ; for the war with Spain still lasted, and it was always necessary to deal cautiously with Cromwell. But the Council published a proclamation intended to interpret that of 1652, and which in reality destroyed it. Things were reduced to the same condition as in the time of Louis XIII. The exercise of the religion was forbidden in places where it had been recently re-established ; and to unite, it appears, artifice with violence, several decrees interdicted the ministers from taking the name of *pastors*, as well as from giving that of *churches* to their flocks.

A prohibition far more severe, already tried in 1631, was reproduced at this period : it regarded the depriving of the *pastors* of their right to preach in the *parishes* or *annexes*. To appreciate the vast importance of the act, which suppressed, at a single blow, more than half the places of worship, it should be remembered that, according to the edicts, the *services* of the Protestant religion could be celebrated only in a certain number of localities, which they had determined upon district by district, name by name—a legitimate thing in one place, a crime in another.

Several of these districts, containing too small or too poor flocks to support a pastor, the faithful shared the burden by uniting together, and a single minister was commissioned to satisfy the wants of all. From this arose the *annexes*.

The right of preaching in their precincts was not contested with the communes, or at least it was not contested immediately: the letter of the edicts had decided this. But they attacked the pastors. Had they the right to leave their place of residence? Were they free to assemble two or three distinct flocks? Called to a place designated by name, could they serve others? In respect to reason and justice, there was no question; but in reference to the intolerance of the priest, the ill-will of the judge, the hostile tendencies of the Council, there was one, and they took good care to let it drop.

This miserable quarrel produced, for nearly forty years, vexations upon vexations, process upon process, appeals upon appeals, provincial synods directing the pastors to maintain possession of their *annexes*, and the officers of the law forbidding them, under pain of fine and imprisonment. Generally, legal evidence was forced to yield to sophisms, supported by material force.

The Parliaments of Toulouse, Rennes, Aix, and Poitiers signalized themselves by the severity and iniquity of their decrees. In every affair of Protestant with Catholic, of pastor with priest, of temple with church, of consistory with episcopal chapter, the heretic party was wrong, unless it had ten times the argument, and its right was absolutely incontestable. These parliaments so interpreted the edicts that there remained almost nothing; and in criminal suits, the slightest indications were enough to condemn the Protestants to exorbitant penalties.

How could the Reformers bring their complaints to the court? They could no longer think of holding political assemblies. The Council delayed from year to year the authorization to convoke

a National Synod, and the voice of a single general deputy, whom they had left the churches, was disdained. At last, the Provincial Synods resolved, in 1658, to send to Paris ten deputies, to lay their grievances before the king. Louis XIV. kept them waiting four months for an audience; and when he did deign to receive them, he said, in a chilling tone: "I will examine your cause, and render you justice." Cardinal Mazarin showed more civility. "The king will make known by his deeds," he said to the deputies, "the good-will he bears you; assure yourselves that I speak to you in the sincerity of my heart." But no one trusted the word of the minister.

All the Protestants obtained, after the most persevering solicitations, was a vague promise that the king would observe the Edict of Nantes: "hoping those of the pretended Reformed religion *would render themselves worthy of this favor* by their good conduct, fidelity, and affection for his service." The response gave them a glimpse of their grave suspicions, and the deputies showed themselves wounded to the quick. But the court retracted nothing; they only announced that commissaries of both religions should be sent into the provinces to superintend the execution of the edicts. These commissaries entered upon their office two or three years after, and did the churches, as we shall see, more evil than good.

In 1659, peace being concluded with Spain, Mazarin granted to the entreaties of the Protestants permission to convoke a General Synod. It opened at Loudun, the 10th of November, 1659;—it was the last of the National Synods, at least of those which the public authority had approved.

It makes the heart sad to read the verbal processes of this assembly. All is haughtiness, menace, accusation, recrimination, on the side of the court; and on the side of the Protestants, all is humility, abasement, expression of gratitude. Of gratitude,

said for what? Without doubt, for the evil which they had not deigned to do them still!

On the opening of the synod, the commissary of the king, M. de la Magdeleine, made the first speech, and said that the Protestants had great cause to admire the benignity of his majesty, who placed them under the shield of his royal authority.

He prohibited them from making any complaint. "The king has directed me," continued he, "to say to you, that he has great reason to complain of the infractions and transgressions of the edicts, committed by his subjects of the pretended Reformed religion, and of the contempt they have exhibited, because they have come to the last degree of insolence, even since his majesty took the reins of government, having recommenced preaching in the Languedoc, contrary to the prohibition of the king, and not only in this province, but everywhere else, which they have done openly and with ostentation." It should be remarked that the same grievances, concerning the same acts, had already been exposed, fifteen years before, at the National Synod of Charenton, which proves that the court had not found a single new pretext for a reprimand.

To these reproaches the moderator of the assembly, Jean Daillé, replied in a subdued tone: "We receive with all possible respect and humility all that is said to us on the part of his majesty." Then he showed that, so far from having encroached upon the soil of the Catholic Church, the Protestants had even seen in several places their exercises abolished and their temples destroyed.

The commissary pressed the assembly, under the order of the court, to hasten the closing of its sessions, and gave them to understand it would be the last of the National Synods: "His majesty," said he, "having considered that they can no longer hold a National Synod without great expense, and causing great

embarrassment and difficulty to those who are sent thither ; and inasmuch as they can terminate more easily, and with little cost, most of the business in the provincial synods, which his majesty permits them to hold once a year, for the conservation of the pretended Reformed religion : for these reasons, gentlemen, his majesty has judged it expedient for me to propose to you on his part, that, for the future, all power be given to the provincial synods."

To mention the expense of a few thousand livres, and the embarrassments of those who assisted at the National Synods, to give a coloring to the violation of the Edict of Nantes, was a bitter derision. Daillé replied, in the name of the assembly, that they hoped the king would not deprive them of his liberalities. "But the holding of these synods, being to us an absolute necessity," added he, "we will defray very willingly all the expenses, and support all the troubles we are obliged to endure for such a subject." The assembly decided hereupon, that *under the good pleasure of his majesty*, a new National Synod will be held at Nismes after the expiration of three years.

Louis XIV. did not permit it, and from the 10th of January, 1660, the day when the Synod of Loudun closed its sessions, the Presbyterian organization of the French Reformation was destroyed. There were State reasons for the suppression of the political assemblies ; none but idle pretexts could be alleged for the interdiction of the convocation of the National Synods. But with the maxims of intolerance, the ruin of the former must involve the destruction of the latter. Royalty had shattered the Huguenot party, and the priests induced it now to annihilate the religious communion.

The first National Synod was held in 1559 ; a century after the twenty-ninth, and last, assembled. The Protestants were suffering in 1559, but they hoped to conquer the kingdom. In

1659, they still suffered, but they had no longer the same hopes. Descartes had appeared, and the field of the struggle against Catholicism, at least in France, began to be changed.

X.

While the French Reformation was exposed to these many vexations, it honored itself before Europe and posterity, by the learning of its doctors. This was the grand epoch of its theology. Germany, so justly proud of its immense works in this branch of human knowledge, still cites with respect these theologians of the seventeenth century. It is because with most of them, along with a profound and vast erudition, there is that solidity of judgment, that clearness of ideas, that skilful concatenation of proofs, that transparency of style, in fine, which distinguish good French writers in all departments of literature.

We shall barely name here the eminent doctors or pastors of the Protestant churches. The history of their ideas and their writings does not belong to our plan.

The Academy of Montauban was then celebrated for the orthodoxy of its doctrines and the reputation of its professors. We should cite, among others, Daniel Chamier, Michel Bérault, and Antoine Garissoles.

Chamier had a genius for affairs of State as well as for theological pursuits. He took a prominent part in the drawing up of the Edict of Nantes. Courtiers, who did not like him because he was inaccessible to their seductions, classed him among the *fanatics of the synods*.

He had, at Nismes, in 1600, a famous discussion with Father Cotton, confessor of Henry IV. There was nothing more dissimilar than the two antagonists. The one, a rigid dialectician, marched

from syllogism to syllogism, and went straight to the point; the other was prodigal of the flowers of rhetoric and brilliant digressions. The Jesuit had the advantage of dazzling his auditors, but the Protestant theologian had the endowment to convince them, and victory was on his side.

The National Synods challenged him to refute the writings of Bellarmin. He did it in a Latin work of four folio volumes, entitled *Panstratie Catholique*, or *Ordre universel de Bataille*. He proposed to publish upon the question of the Church a fifth volume, which death prevented him from completing. It is the most complete book of controversy of the French Reformation. "Chamier," says a theologian of modern Germany, "has gone deeply into the examination of the Catholic doctrine. He attacks it with great force and sagacity, drawing, in turn, his proofs from the Scriptures, the Fathers, tradition, history, and philosophy. The work is not prolix, notwithstanding its great length; it is singularly complete, rich, and copious."¹

Chamier was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Montauban, on Sunday, the 16th of October, 1621. He had gone on the ramparts to address exhortations to the soldiers, who had not been able to attend service at the temple. His grandson, advocate at Montélimart, was broken upon the wheel alive in 1683, for having been present at a religious assembly which was declared seditious, as it had defended itself against the dragoons of Louis XIV.

Michael Bérault was a learned and able theologian, according to the testimony of Scaliger. He was chosen to dispute against Duperron in the Conference of Mantes, and published, in reply to the assertions of that bishop, a work on the *Vocation of Min-*

¹ Stæudlin, *Geschichte der Theol. Wissenschaften*, t. II. pp. 58, 59. See also Schroock, *Christl. K. Geschichte*, t. II. p. 207-209.

isters of the Gospel. But his character was more ardent than became a man of his calling. The commissary of the king demanded his exclusion from the National Synod of Charenton, since he had justified in his writings the last resort to arms. The assembly did not yield to this injunction; but they thought it their duty to censure him before admitting him to his seat.

Garissoles, who was born in 1587, and died in 1650, had as much disinterestedness as piety; and when the professors of Montauban left their post, because the suppression of the grant from the royal taxes prevented them from receiving their salary, he continued alone the exercise of his office.

His work on the *Imputation of Original Sin* obtained great success. The evangelical cantons of Switzerland, to whom Garissoles dedicated it, rewarded him by sending him four silver gilt cups, beautifully wrought, and a letter signed by the principal magistrates. He composed also an epic poem in Latin, the *Adolphide*, in which he celebrated the services Gustavus Adolphus rendered the Reformation.

The Academy of Montauban existed in this town until the year 1661. It was then transferred elsewhere, and soon ruined, through motives so puerile, they are hardly worthy of the gravity of history.

The buildings of the Theological Seminary, having been erected at the cost of the Reformed population, were theirs by the most legitimate authority. Yet, after the Edict of Pardon, the Jesuits had succeeded in securing the possession of a part for their own instructions; and, not content with having the half, they sought the means of usurping the whole, by driving the true owners from its door.

One day, therefore, they had obstructed the yard and the principal avenues of the edifice, on account of a theatrical piece their scholars were to play. The students of the Reformed

communion presented themselves at the usual hour :—there was no passage; no way to reach their theological lecture-rooms. These young men, becoming excited, tore down the scaffolding of the Jesuits, not without some blows, we may suppose, between the scholars of both camps. Great complaints were at once made to the court, with denunciations and calumnies. This hasty movement was transformed into a State crime, and a *lettre de cachet* ordered the speedy deliverance of the College to the reverend Fathers altogether.

The people of Montauban, irritated in their turn, flocked tumultuously around the door of one of its temples, where the Notables were assembled, at the invitation of the consuls, to deliberate upon the affair. New denunciations followed, more exaggerated and heinous than the preceding. It was a vast conspiracy; it was the signal of a general revolt of the heretics, and the Montalbanais were in the van. Mazarin was then dying, and Louis XIV. occupied with his splendid fêtes. The Jesuits managed every thing with the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, who was devoted to them.

In short, for a few broken boards, and a few clamors of a popular gathering, Montauban was treated as a rebel town. Several thousand soldiers were quartered in the houses. They tore down the last remnants of the walls. Some of the inhabitants were condemned to death, others banished, and the greater part ruined. There were no more Protestant courts. The Academy was transferred to the little town of Puy-Laurens, where it could hardly live; and Montauban, subjected to a reign of terror, was depopulated. It has been supposed that Louis XIV. had allowed the Jesuits to act much more at their option, as he was glad to avenge the affront Louis XIII. had suffered before the ramparts of Montauban in the siege of 1621 :—he punished the children for the heroic resistance of their fathers.

The Academy of Saumur, founded by Mornay, had also a great reputation. It was more inclined than that of Montauban to the new ideas. Its professors, Caméron, Amyraut, Cappel, and La Place, taught doctrines which were a sort of compromise or transition between Calvinism and Arminianism.

Jean Caméron, (1579-1625,) a Scotchman by birth, belonged, by his studies, his teachings, and his writings, to the French theology. After being pastor at Bordeaux, he succeeded Gomar in the chair of Theology of Saumur, and brought to it other opinions. He was a man of science, judgment, profoundly acquainted with philosophy, but little versed in the study of the Fathers, and attacking, at every opportunity, the works of Theodore de Bèze. He gave out that there were many things to correct in their received doctrines, but his *Course*, printed in 1626, does not indicate with clearness what these changes were to be.

He had, as we have said elsewhere, difficulties with the court, and fled to England; but they permitted him to return to his adopted country. The National Synod of Castres granted a pension of seven hundred livres to his children, "in testimony of their honor to his memory."

Moïse Amyraut, (1596-1664,) the most illustrious of the disciples of Caméron, was accused before the National Synod of Alençon of teaching opinions contrary to the Confession of Faith. Numerous letters had come from Holland and Geneva, which charged him with a disguised Pelagianism.

We cannot enter into these theological discussions. It is enough for us to say, that the learned professor of Saumur drew up a system which has been called *universalisme hypothétique*, in opposition to the doctrine of the *particularistes*. Amyraut taught that Jesus Christ died for all men *sufficiently*, but that he died *efficiently* only for the elect. He also advocated a *universal*

predestination in a certain sense. As for the rest, he defended himself from the charge of having adopted the principles of the Arminians, and even published against them a profession of faith.

After hearing his apology, the moderator of the synod, Benjamin Basnage, gave him the hand of fellowship, as did also Testard, pastor of Blois, accused of having adopted the same sentiments. The dispute was renewed, however, at the third National Synod of Charenton; but the assembly imposed silence on both parties, and directed them to make no more divisions on those questions which it pronounced useless for the work of salvation.

Amyraut was charged by the last National Synod to compile a collection of decisions concerning ecclesiastical discipline, and he received from this assembly the most honorable marks of confidence. Some time after he became reconciled with most of his adversaries.

We have from his pen nearly forty works on subjects of theology and of edification. His paraphrases of the Bible were very popular. His *Morale chrétienne*, dedicated to M. Villarnoul, of the family of Duplessis-Mornay, is the work of a man who had explored alike deeply the Bible, the human heart, and the world. "I have proposed to myself," said he, "to compose a book on Christian Morals, in which I should build on the foundations of nature the instructions given us by revelation."

Amyraut did not possess simply the knowledge of the theologian—he had a cultivated mind, a lively and attractive conversation, agreeable manners, and a character which made him generally beloved. Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin always testified great respect for him. He was extraordinarily charitable, and during the ten last years of his life, he distributed

to the poor of both communions the revenues of his pastoral office.

His colleague, Louis Cappel, (1585-1658,) was one of the first Hebraists of the age. He brought out, on the use of the *vowel-points* in the original Hebrew, a system which provoked violent opposition, and his *Critique Sacrée*, published after his death, augmented still further the number of his opponents, since he was accused of raising doubts on the universally received text of the Old Testament.

Another colleague of Amyrant, Josué de la Place, (1596-1655,) compiled a large part of the *Theses de Saumur*, which resounded loudly in the theological discussions of the age. He held peculiar opinions on the imputation of the sin of Adam. Man, according to this doctor, while ever bearing the load of original sin, is not responsible before God, as if he had himself fallen in the first transgression.

Etienne Gaussen, who died in 1675, occupied the chair of philosophy at Saumur. One of his works treats of the *Use of Philosophy in Theology*. We have also from him a judicious treatise on the *art de la chaire*, and an interesting dissertation on the manner of directing theological studies. His works, written in Latin, have been well received in Germany and in Holland. A sixth edition was published at Halle, in 1727, and they have been reprinted still later. Burmann, Franke, Staedlin, and other theologians, speak of them with much admiration.

At the Academy of Sedan, Pierre Dumoulin professed, to his last days, a strict orthodoxy. He died at the age of ninety years, (1568-1658.)

Dumoulin had been saved, when scarcely four years old, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew by the devotion of a servant. Appointed pastor of Charenton in 1599, he edified the faithful of Paris, under the reign of Henry IV. But the Jesuits took

advantage of a letter he had written to the King of England, in 1621, to demand a warrant against him, and he fled to Sedan, then an independent town of France. His character, universally venerated, caused him to be received there with great joy. The National Synod of Castres solicited in vain of Louis XIII. the recall of Dumoulin; the Jesuits resolutely opposed it.

He had maintained against them a brilliant controversy, on the occasion of a sermon, in which Father Arnoux pretended that the Protestant Confession of Faith was in no way sanctioned by the texts of Scripture, indicated in connection with the articles. This accusation having produced much noise, Dumoulin published, in concert with the pastors of Charenton, a *Defence of the Reformed Churches of France*. The dedicatory epistle, addressed to Louis XIII., spared little the disciples of Loyola. "They cannot endure," said Dumoulin, "a king, although a Roman Catholic, unless he is a persecutor of his subjects, and brings the torch into his kingdom."

The Jesuits brought accusations against the book, the author, the printer, and even against its readers. The sentence pronounced severe penalties against those who read the work, or kept it in their houses.

Pierre Dumoulin accomplished much in his long career. Not less than seventy-three works are reported to have come from his pen, among which the most popular were the *Shield of Faith*, *The Anatomy of the Mass*, and *Décades of Sermons*. His style of preaching was at once grave and familiar; there was nothing classic in it, but it was stamped with a bold originality, which revealed the inmost life of the orator.

When it was announced to the venerable pastor that he was about to die: "Oh! how good you are," cried he, "to tell me such news! Sweet death, how welcome thou art! How happy I shall be to see my God, and how long have I desired it!"

Another Professor of Sedan, Louis Leblanc de Beaulieu, (1615–1675,) sustained the renown of this Academy, without holding doctrines as strictly Calvinistic as those of Dumoulin. He had, to employ the expressions of his adversary Nicole, a mind wonderfully clear and well fitted for debating difficult questions.

Leblanc attempted not to unite the two communions, but to draw them towards each other, by showing that many of their differences turned only on a dispute about words. He endeavored also to establish a solid peace between the Calvinists, Arminians, and Lutherans. These efforts caused him to be accused of latitudinarianism. Pious men, nevertheless, rendered full justice to the sincerity of his convictions, the integrity of his character, and the austere Jurieu defended him, after his death, against inconsiderate attacks.

He was a professor of great learning and rare modesty. The collection of his theses forms an almost complete dogmatic treatise; four editions were published within a few years.

Without having as much celebrity as others, the Academy of Nismes reckoned some professors of merit. We have already cited Samuel Petit, (1594–1643,) who was appointed in 1627 to the chairs of Theology, Greek, and Hebrew.

Petit had a profound acquaintance with the Oriental languages. Having one day entered the Synagogue of Avignon, he heard the Rabbin pronounce, in Hebrew, unjust attacks upon the Christians. The learned professor immediately replied to him in the same language, and, without expressing the least resentment, he exhorted the Jewish doctor to study more thoroughly the faith he denounced. The disconcerted Rabbin offered him apologies.

A cardinal had conceived so much esteem for Samuel Petit, that he offered to secure him an entrance within the doors of the

library of the Vatican, and to allow him to review its manuscripts. The professor declined. He would have found much learning in the archives of Rome ; but he would have lost liberty of conscience, which was to him still more precious.

Petit composed various chronological and philological works. He also labored to illustrate the antiquities of the Old and New Testament. His character was amiable, and he sought more to do good than to raise questions of controversy.

XI.

Besides the professors of the Universities, the French Reformation possessed, in the seventeenth century, learned and laborious pastors, who are equally worthy of a brief notice.

André Rivet (1572–1651) exercised pastoral functions in France till the age of forty-seven years, presided at the National Synod of Vitré, in 1617, and went to Holland as Professor of Theology. His *Introduction* to the study of the Bible lays down the true bases of sacred criticism. The author desires us to seek in the Scriptures, not an allegorical sense or one of accommodation, but the exact and real meaning, that which is naturally suggested by the terms of the original text.

Sternly severe in his doctrines, and sometimes violent in polemics, Rivet observed a constant moderation in his private life. "Afflictive events, public or private," says the author of his *last hours*, "did not surprise him, and his serenity was never ruffled. He had a habit of saying: *Every thing is possible, I am astonished at nothing*. So he never exulted for joy ; for he regarded every thing in the world as mutable and transitory."

Edme Aubertin (1595–1652) had especially studied the Fathers. He published, in 1633, a volume on the *Eucharistie de*

Pancienne Eglise, in which he undertook to prove that the doctrine of the real presence was unknown during the first six centuries of the Christian era. This work was denounced by the privy council; but it was easier to condemn than to answer it. "The great and incomparable work of the *Eucharist*," says the son of Jean Daillé, "stood above all attacks of the other communion, not one of whom dared, in open contest, to combat him, nor to meet him face to face, if we may so speak."

In his last moments, the door of his chamber was forced by the curate of St. Sulpice, escorted by a commissary and the populace. Edme Aubertin, wakened by this tumult, and recovering his presence of mind, declared, with a firm voice, that he died in the Reformed faith.

Benjamin Basnage (1580–1652) was charged, both by the political assemblies and by the National Synods, with several missions, as important as they were delicate. The court, who feared his popularity, desired to prevent his taking a place in the National Synod of Charenton in 1651. Besides several controversial treatises, he wrote a valuable work on the *State of the Church Visible and Invisible*. We shall speak in the following Book of his illustrious grandson, Jacques Basnage.

David Blondel (1595–1655) was the man of his times the most • versed in ecclesiastical history. His prodigies of memory are related; he had read every thing, and forgotten nothing. Having become blind, he dictated two folio volumes on difficult points of chronology and antiquities. The National Synod gave him the title of honorary professor, without attaching him to any academy, and all the provinces gave him an annual pension for his maintenance at Paris.

Blondel combated the pretensions of the See of Rome to the primacy, the false decretals, and the Sibylline oracles. His good faith equalled his erudition; he was blamed by a few old Hugue-

note for having contradicted the legend of the Popess Jeanne, which they maintained so fondly.

Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) was pastor at Caen, and enjoyed the respect of all good men. “He was,” says Bayle, “one of the most learned men in the world. But his knowledge, vast as it was, was not his principal quality; he had a modesty infinitely more estimable than all his science. So he enjoyed his glory in complete tranquillity.”

Bochart has secured an imperishable name by the *Phaleg*, the *Canaan*, and the *Hieroziicon*—three works which treat, the one of the dispersion of the first nations, the two others of the places and the animals mentioned in the Bible. They are still classics on these topics. The German doctor Michaëlis, who lived a century after, profited much from the works of Bochart, and the *Hieroziicon* was reprinted, in 1793, by Professor Rosenmüller.

Almost all the pastors of Charenton or of Paris (for they resided in the latter city) were learned theologians at the same time that they were distinguished preachers.

Michel Le Faucheur, who died in 1657, left several volumes of sermons, which still deserve to be read. We are indebted to him also for a treatise on the *action of the orator*, which was attributed to Conrart, secretary of the French Academy. The second National Synod of Charenton addressed special thanks to Le Faucheur for his reply to Cardinal Duperron on the doctrine of the eucharist, and printed it at the expense of the churches.

Jean Mestrezat (1592–1657) was only eighteen years of age when a chair of philosophy was offered him; and scarcely had he left his theological studies, when he was appointed pastor at Charenton—a distinguished honor, which was granted to him alone.

He confounded a Jesuit before the regent, Anne of Austria, and the princess was so astonished at the power of his argu-

ments, she ordered the transactions of the discussion not to be printed.

In an audience he had with Louis XIII., Cardinal Richelieu asked him, among other things, why the Protestants called ministers who were not French. "It would be desirable," replied Mestrezat, "if the great number of Italian monks who are in France had as much zeal for his majesty as these foreign pastors, who acknowledge no sovereign but the king." At these words, Cardinal Richelieu, slapping him on the shoulder: "This is," said he, "the boldest minister in France."

The treatises of Mestrezat on the Scripture and the Church show him to be one of the ablest doctors of the Protestants. His sermons, always heard with edification, were distinguished especially by the justness and depth of their reasoning.

Charles Drelincourt (1595-1669) was the model of the true pastor. He lived a life of faith and prayer, of charity and devotion, employing the day in visiting his flock, and prolonging his night studies for meditation and composition.

The 27th of October, 1669, he still preached in the temple of Charenton; the Sunday following, he was no more. What he put into the mouth of a pastor, at the close of his *Visites charitables*, might have been applied to himself: "I have lived long; I have long preached; I am not weary of serving so good a Master and so liberal a Lord."

The contemporaries of Drelincourt agree in saying that no minister of Charenton knew better how to bring back the wandering, to fortify the weak, to exhort the lukewarm, to solace the poor, and console the unfortunate.

His practical and polemical writings have a popular character, which gave them an entrance into every family during his time, and which has preserved some of them even to our day. We have already seen that no adversary was more dreaded than he

by the converters, and that he strongly armed against their sophisms the simple and the unlettered by his *Abrégé des controverses*. The other works of Drelincourt, which have been oftenest reprinted, are his *Preparation for the Lord's Supper*, his *Charitable Visits*, and his *Consolations against Death*. This last work has been translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and more than fifty editions of it have appeared.

Drelincourt had applied these consolations to himself. "I pray God," said one of his friends to him, in his last sickness, "that he may change your bed of sickness into a bed of health." "My bed of health and repose," replied he, "will be in heaven."

Jean Daillé, (1595-1670,) of the same age as Drelincourt, was long his colleague at Paris, and soon followed him to the grave. Prudent and reserved, as well as pious, he knew how to acquire general esteem without ever swerving from his convictions or his duty.

Brought up from his youth in the family of Duplessis-Mornay, and afterwards travelling through the principal States of Europe, he early exhibited a vigorous and mature judgment. Daillé made his first appearance in a master-piece, the treatise of the *Usage des Pères*. He gives what is due to those venerable doctors, without retrenching any thing from the sovereign authority he accords only to the Bible.

His *Apologie des Eglises réformées* is firm, without wounding. The truth appears entire, with charity. The author proposed to reply to those who accused the Protestants of having broken the Catholic unity; and, while always recognizing the division as a great evil, he proves that there are cases where it becomes the first of duties.

The biographer of Jean Daillé has furnished us with interesting details on his mode of life and study. "It was," he says, "his books and his studies which constituted his principal

recreation and pleasure. There he rested from his labor both with delight and profit, and thither he resorted for repose after the most painful occupations of his office. He was extremely laborious, and rising very early, he had five or six hours free to himself. We must not be astonished, therefore, that he had leisure to accomplish so much during so many years; for he was a man who profited by every thing, and he read no book, however despicable it might be, from which he did not make extracts, and he knew well how to take advantage of time and place."

A few pastors, younger and of equal merit, began to appear towards the year 1660, such as Dubosc, Larroque, Ancillon, and Claude.

Pierre Dubosc, born at Bayeux, in 1623, has been considered the greatest Protestant preacher of the seventeenth century. "We can say without flattering him," says Elias Benoit, "that he had all the gifts necessary to a Christian orator. He had a mind enlightened by a knowledge of belles-lettres. He was a good philosopher, a profound theologian, a judicious critic. His body was very well formed. He had a voice equally agreeable and strong, and a finished style of gesture."¹

The Church of Charenton earnestly entreated him, in 1658, to come to Paris. Marshal Turenne, the Marquis de la Forcè, and other illustrious personages, joined with them their solicitations. But Dubosc refused to leave the Church of Caen, holding it for a maxim, that one cannot leave his flock with a clear conscience till he has obtained their express consent.

When this call was renewed in 1670, the Archbishop of Paris went even three times in the same week to supplicate the king to forbid the appointment of Dubosc. Had he, then, no confi-

¹ T. IV. p. 99.

dence in the eloquence of Bourdelone and Bossuet to sustain the cause of Catholicism ?

The Jesuits of Normandy, irritated by his great celebrity, accused Dubosc of having used offensive terms of the Confession, and got him exiled to Châlons in 1664. He remained there but a few months, thanks to the kind offices of a few powerful protectors.

Dubosc was often sent by the oppressed churches before Louis XIV. He was charged, in 1668, to demand of him the maintenance of the Chambers of the Edict. At the first sentences of Dubosc, Louis XIV. showed an inattentive air. But by degrees he began to yield his attention, then to give marks of satisfaction. The countenance, the voice, the grave and natural manner, the eloquent words of the orator, triumphed completely over the repugnance he had felt against all the heretical ministers. "Madame," said he to the queen after the audience, "I have just listened to the best speaker of my kingdom." And, turning towards the courtiers : "It is true that I have never heard such good speaking."

Pierre Dubosc, banished by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, died in the land of his exile, in 1692.

Matthieu de Larroque (1619-1684) had the good fortune to close his eyes in the midst of his flock, on the eve of the sentence of banishment. He had also received a call from the Church of Charenton in 1669, but the king forbade his compliance with this call, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Deputy-general Ruvigny. Other churches—Vitré, Saumur, Montauban, Bordeaux—disputed the privilege of possessing a man of so much learning and virtue. Larroque had composed a *history of the Eucharist*, which interfered with the triumph the controversialists of Port-Royal claimed in this matter.

David Ancillon (1617-1692) had great theological acquire-

ments, but he wrote little. Called, at first, to minister to the Church of Meaux, he won the general affection. "What gained him their hearts," says his son, "was his irreproachable life and his deep and unostentatious piety. He had no friends so insignificant that he did not consider them worthy of his care. He rendered his kind offices to every body, without allowing difference of religions in the least to affect his conduct. He had softened and made tractable the Roman ecclesiastics of the diocese, and lived with them on a good understanding. He maintained, by this means, peace and concord among all the inhabitants."

His preaching seems to have had a singular attraction. He meditated and composed his sermons with care, although he published but one—*The Tears of St. Paul*. Ancillon was in the habit of saying, "that it is to esteem the public too lightly not to take care to prepare one's self when he is to treat with it; and that a man who should appear in a night-cap and morning-gown on a day of ceremony, would not commit a greater incivility."

He was pastor at Metz at the time of the revocation; and when, with his three colleagues, he stepped on the vessel which was to transport him out of his country, all the faithful assembled on the shore, and followed him long with their tears and lamentations. Several went after him into exile. David Ancillon was well received at Berlin by the Elector of Brandenburg, and became the head of the illustrious family which has done so much for the French name in Germany.

Jean Claude, the last of the eminent pastors of Charenton, was born at La Salvetat, in the Rouergue, in 1619. A pious man, a learned theologian, an able orator, a sage and comprehensive writer, gifted with a judgment and a presence of mind which never left him at fault, he was better able to cope with

the champions of the Catholic Church than any other man ; and without presuming that his genius was equal to Bossuet's, we doubt if he did not surpass him in solidity of knowledge and power of argument.

His name will reappear more than once in the course of this history. After having exercised pastoral functions in the Languedoc, where he displayed great energy, he was called to Charenton in 1666. There he took, without dispute, the first rank after the death of Drelincourt and Daillé. "M. Claude," says his biographer, Ladevèze, "excelled, above all, in presiding over an assembly. He so appeared for several years in the Consistory of Charenton ; as he did in more than one Synod of the Isle of France, where he was moderator. If any one proposed in the synod matters of a confused nature, and still more enveloped by the fog which ignorance or the artifices of party spread around them, M. Claude had a spirit of discernment so lucid, he cleared away the chaos in an instant."

It would have been easy to extend much further the list of doctors and pastors who acquired a name in the French Reformation of the sixteenth century. They generally preceded the great champions of the Catholic communion, Arnauld, Nicole, Bossuet, and in some measure forced them to appear. Why have such flourishing studies been arrested by persecution ? Why were the men who held with so strong a hand the glorious torch Calvin and Theodore de Bèze had transmitted to them obliged to dash their pens on the miserably strewn stones of their Temples and Academies ? It was a shame for the Church of Rome, and a misfortune for France.

XII.

We resume the narrative of events. The picture will be sad and gloomy; we shall soften down the features, but shall not efface them: this is a history. It will be seen that intolerance stood on a slippery declivity, and its foot once there, it rushed along from iniquity to iniquity, from violence to violence, even to the most atrocious crimes—a lesson, perhaps, not absolutely useless at this day.

Mazarin died in 1661: it was a loss to the Protestants. He was not their friend, and inspired them with little confidence. But this cardinal chose rather to employ wiliness than force; and as he fortified his policy abroad by the Protestant Powers, he did not dare to impose too heavy a yoke upon the French Calvinists.

After his death, Louis XIV. wished to govern alone, and persecutions increased. Not that this prince was naturally cruel; had he been so, he would have restrained himself, from regard to his own dignity. But he had been nourished in hatred of the Huguenots: other motives, which we shall explain afterwards, increased the force of this early prejudice, and the destruction of heresy was one of the fixed purposes of his reign. He could change his mode of action, float between persuasion and oppression, assume the appearance of retracing his steps, and reserve to better opportunities the completion of this great enterprise; but in these fluctuations and these adjournments, his purpose remained immovable.

Commissaries were appointed, in 1661, to notice, in every province, the real or apparent violations of the Edict of Nantes, and restore peace between the two communions. One of these

commissaries was a Catholic, the other a Calvinist. This measure would have been good, if the agents of the crown had enjoyed the same rights, and if the authority commissioned to pronounce in the last resort had given equal rights to them. But it happened very differently, and what was to serve as a guarantee to the Protestants was but a new means of trouble and iniquity.

The Catholic commissary, designated for each generality, was ordinarily a person of consequence, holding a seat in a parliament, or even in the king's council, and noted for his entire devotion to the interests of the Roman Church. The Calvinist commissary, on the contrary, with a few exceptions more and more rare, was either some poor gentleman who knew very little about affairs, or some ambitious man, secretly sold to the court, and designated expressly by the intendants, sometimes even by the bishops, to betray his duties. The former had all the influence which belongs to a religion of the State; the second, all the weakness of a religion scarcely tolerated. The one spoke in high tone, invoking the name of the king; the other spoke low, in the name of the oppressed poor, whose fears he shared.

The commissaries were to investigate the rights of worship in the contested places. But many of the churches had no authentic titles, either because they had never supposed these documents would become necessary, or because they had lost them in the wars of religion. They could declare only the fact of possession and traditional report. Hence arose innumerable contestations. The syndics of the clergy, admitted to judge in these conflicts, tried to invade every thing; and when there was a disagreement between the two commissaries, the affair was judged by the council, which was anxious to confine the Huguenots in the narrowest limits, or by the intendants, who thought only of making their court to Louis XIV.

We could not state how many places of worship were interdicted, temples destroyed, schools suppressed, charitable establishments confiscated to the profit of the Catholics, and how many private persons also suffered cruel acts of injustice when their rights were the least contested. This would fill volumes.

Some Jesuits and others published long dissertations, in which, under color of interpreting the Edict of Nantes, they demolished it piece by piece. The more shrewd they were in inventing new sophisms against the execution of the law, the more they thought they merited from their church. The priest Soulier, author of an *explication of the Edict of Nantes*, made a naïf confession in his dedicatory epistle to the bishops: "I shall esteem myself too happy, my lords," said he, "if I can second the zeal with which you toil every day, after the example of the greatest of all kings, to extinguish heresy." This explication, *volens volens*, must necessarily come.

These writings were sent to the council, to the parliaments, to the procurator-generals, and to the intendants, who, without approving all their contents, took arms from these great arsenals of the Jesuit school, and used them whenever they could, with any propriety.

The clergy obtained in 1663, at the entreaties of their general assembly, a declaration against the *relapsed*, that is to say, against those who returned to the Reformed communion, after having made abjuration. These persons could no longer claim, said they, in the preamble, the benefit of the Edict of Nantes, because they had renounced it, and in returning to the heresy, they rendered themselves chargeable with the enormous crime of profanation against the holy mysteries of the Catholic Church. So the ordinance pronounced against them the penalty of perpetual banishment. This declaration is regarded by Rulhières

and other historians as the first direct attack upon the Edict of Nantes, and the first decisive step towards revocation.

There were at the time a certain number of persons who had gone from the Reformed communion to the Catholic, without knowing definitely why, and without a serious intention of remaining. Some yielded to menaces, others to momentary seductions, others to the weakness or the natural inconstancy of their minds. There was already a great fault in admitting them so readily to the Roman Church, and some Jansenist bishops, more scrupulous than the rest, complained of it. The second was the desire to retain them by terror.

Still further, they began to contrive how they might create the *relapsed*. Attendance at mass for three or four Sundays, the benediction asked of a priest at a mixed marriage, the disclosure to a Catholic of an inclination for his religion, a conjecture, an appearance, a say-so, or some thought of abjuration which dated fifteen or twenty years before; they transformed all this into acts of Catholicity, and if the pretended convert set his foot in a heretic temple, he was brought before the courts as a *relapsed*.

So many abuses and serious disorders followed, that a new proclamation, published in 1664, pronounced the nullity of all procedures commenced on this subject. But the law was only suspended; it was enforced afterwards, with the addition of cruel aggravations.

In the month of May, 1665, an ordinance of the council authorized the curates, and, generally, all the ecclesiastics of the Roman Church, to present themselves with a magistrate at the houses of the sick, to demand of them if they wished to die in heresy, or to become converted to the true religion. It is easy to represent the scenes of sorrow and of scandal which at once resulted, when the priest was fanatical and the magistrate com-

plaisant. Out of the Roman communion they could neither live nor die in peace.

Paternal authority was to suffer, in its turn, a serious outrage. Without speaking of the crimes of abduction which were committed in various places, and renewed often with entire impunity, children were declared, by a decree of the 24th of October, 1665, capable of embracing Catholicism; boys at fourteen, girls at twelve, and parents were bound to give them an alimentary pension to maintain them out of their own family.

The Protestants complained bitterly of this law; but what was more strange, the bishops and the commissary-generals of the clergy complained also. They declared to the chancellor that their conscience would not permit them to allow so much power to heretical fathers, and that children being responsible for their acts before the age of fourteen or twelve, they demanded the right to admit them into the true Church, when the children expressed the desire. The chancellor discussed with them for the sake of form; then he said to them, as they took their leave: "The king has done his duty, you shall do yours."

They received, in fact, the abjurations of many children before the required age; and when the parents brought the affair to justice, the attorney-generals laid it down, that there was a great difference between instigating and *inducing* children to change their religion, and confining themselves to the opening of their arms, when they presented themselves by a sort of inspiration from heaven. Some years after, a new law, of which we shall speak, sanctioned these outrages against the most sacred family rights.

The ordinances against blasphemers, especially against those who were accused of outraging the honor, the purity, and the sanctity of the Virgin Mary, were confirmed. This gave occasion for a multitude of groundless or barbarous persecutions.

The sermons of the pastors were watched by the spies of the Jesuits, and if they found a word a little acrimonious against the teachings of Catholicism, they cited the pastors before the tribunals under an accusation of blasphemy. Many private persons were subjected to the same treatment, and it was often observed that Catholics, having lawsuits with the Protestants, charged them with some blasphemy, to gain advantage over their adversaries.

It became always more and more difficult for religionists to be admitted to public offices. They had begun by excluding them from the highest posts; they prevented, afterwards, their access to those of indifferent value, and by degrees, they went so far as to shut them out from the smallest, except in the towns and cantons where they still held the majority. In several provinces, they exacted a profession of Catholic faith in order to allow to simple artisans certificates of mastership.

Things reached such a pass that even the corporation of female linen-traders of Paris remonstrated before the council that their community, having been established by St. Louis, could not admit heretics, and this remonstrance was gravely confirmed (singular movement of folly !) by a decree of the 21st of August, 1665. It was hence remarked, that these linen-traders had in their community many suspected females, of whom they did not complain themselves, and that they were much more disturbed about their heresy than their bad morals. The example had been set them, it is true, by the priests, by the court, and especially by Louis XIV.

Colbert, however, persisted in employing the religionists in financial offices. A Protestant from Germany, Barthélemy Heward, had been appointed intendant of finance, under the ministry of Mazarin, notwithstanding the commissaries of the clergy, who opposed, and even signified their opposition, officially to the chancellor. Heward became afterwards comptroller-

general. "His religion," says Elias Benoit, "was benefited by his influence; the finances became the refuge of the Protestants, who were refused other offices. They were admitted into collect-
orships and other posts, and rendered themselves so necessary in affairs of this nature, that even Fouquet and Colbert could not dismiss them, and were obliged to maintain them as men of tried fidelity and acknowledged capacity."¹

Colbert trusted, indeed, to their spirit of order, economy, and probity, and cared little for their religion, provided he had honest men in the administration. Rulhières makes, in reference to this matter, a very curious remark in his *Eclaircissements historiques*: it is, that the financiers enjoyed then, for the first time, the general regard; they were attacked neither by Molière, by Lafontaine, nor Boileau. "This silence of the satirists about the financiers, during the years when the greatest number of these offices was held by Protestants," adds Rulhières, "is it not highly honorable to them?"²

Others, being unable to enter offices of the State, or even the municipal magistracy, turned their attention to the arts and trades, to agriculture and industry—a new title, which recommended them to the protection of Colbert. But this great minister of State soon yielded himself to the will of his master; for under Louis XIV. genius did not release him from the duty of being a courtier.

Besides the injustice of the council and the tribunals, the Protestants had to endure these puerile vexations, these ridiculous meannesses, which intolerance always incurs. They were, among other things, prohibited from chanting psalms on land or sea, in their workshops, or at the doors of their houses. If a procession happened to pass while they were singing in their temples, they

¹ T. III. p. 189.

² T. I. p. 175.

were obliged to stop. Their interments could be made only at dawn of day, or at twilight, and they were not allowed to admit more than ten persons in the train, except at Castres, Montauban, Nismes, and towns of the same rank, where the presence of thirty persons was authorized. The Protestants were not at liberty to marry, except in the times fixed by the canons of the Catholic Church; and the nuptial *cortège* was not to exceed, including relatives, the number of twelve persons, while going through the streets.

Rich churches were forbidden to supply poor ones with pastors. It was a crime for the consistories to pronounce censures against those who placed their children in the colleges of the Jesuits. The pastors lost the right of taking the title of Doctors of Theology, and the king prohibited them, under pain of a fine of three hundred livres, from wearing the *soutane* and the long robe anywhere but in their temples. They could not speak and pray in the hospitals, except in a low voice, lest they should offend the ears of the Catholics.

Notwithstanding all this, the Bishop of Ures, the orator of the general assembly of the clergy, declared to the king, in 1665, that it was necessary to labor with more zeal to *exterminate entirely*, these were the words, *the formidable monster of heresy*. He demanded, moreover, that liberty of conscience should be taken away from the Catholics, that is to say, that no person should be permitted to leave the Roman Church; adding, that twenty-two dioceses of the Languedoc had solicited it from the States of the Province, and that all the dioceses of the kingdom were ready to seal this declaration with their blood.

The council was still obliged to preserve some moderation—they refused. But the following year they decreed an enormous act, sanctioning, under the form of general law, all the sentences which had been given upon particular cases by the courts of jus-

tice. The preamble declared that this law had been granted at the request of the assembly of the clergy. It comprised fifty-nine articles, which all tended to restrain the liberties which the Edict of Nantes declared perpetual and irrevocable.

From this period dates the first emigration. The Protestants feared they would no longer find either justice or repose on their native soil, and preferred the sufferings of exile to those of persecution.

The Protestant powers of Europe began to move. The Elector of Brandenburg, one of the most faithful and useful allies of Louis XIV., wrote him in favor of the Protestants. The king responded that he allowed them to live on an equality with his other subjects. "I am engaged," said he, "by my royal word, and by the gratitude I owe them, for the proofs they have given me of their loyalty, during the last insurrection, (the Fronde,) in which they took arms in my service."

But these were only diplomatic phrases, which deceived no one. England and Sweden, whose neutrality was necessary to Louis XIV., after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, testified also their solicitude for the fate of the Protestants of France. Emigration did not cease; and all these circumstances induced the council to publish, in 1669, a kind of retraction of the preceding decrees. Nine articles of the proclamation of 1666 were suppressed, and twenty-one others mitigated. This was but partial justice; the oppressed Calvinists, however, thought themselves happy even with this.

Shortly afterwards the celebrated edict was published, which interdicted the subjects of the king, under pain of confiscation of body and possessions, from establishing themselves in foreign countries without express permission, and especially from engaging in the capacity of marine artificer or sailor. This law smote down all the ancient liberties of Frenchmen; but it was

only enforced against those who emigrated for the sake of religion.

Marshal Turenne had just abjured, (1669.) This conversion had all the importance of a general event. Turenne had resisted the inducements of Mazarin and Louis XIV., and was not beguiled even by the offer of the constable's sword. He changed all of a sudden, when no one was expecting it, and it was never clearly known why.

Some Catholic writers said that he was enlightened by Bossuet's *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*: a work, indeed, well conceived, soberly written, of extraordinary skill, in which the orator conceals the gravest errors of doctrine and practice of Catholicism under the artifices of a language profoundly elaborated. It is possible that the old soldier did not examine it closely, and that his lack of information on the questions of controversy exposed him to the subtleties of the theologian.

The Protestant historians explain the matter otherwise. They say that Turenne, always somewhat indifferent about his religion, had been maintained in it by his wife and sisters, Mesdames de Duras and de la Trémoille, persons very zealous for the faith of the Reformation. When he was left alone, and had yielded to amours little suitable to the austerity of the Protestant faith, he gave himself up to the persuasions of Bossuet.

Here we may observe, that the chief part of the court noblesse—the families of Bouillon, Châtillon, Rohan, Sully, Trémoille—conforming to the will of the monarch, were by degrees restored to the Catholic Church. Their debaucheries had also prepared them for abjuration: they were no worse than the rest of the courtiers, according to the testimony of Tallemant des Réaux, who was himself a Calvinist by birth.

Among the distinguished men who remained faithful to the

Reformation, we could cite the Count de Schomberg, who had been commander-in-chief of the armies; the Duke de la Force and his house; a younger branch of the family des La Rochefoucault; several descendants of Duplessis-Mornay; the Marquis de Ruigny, one of whom was Minister Plenipotentiary to London, and the other Deputy-General of the Churches. The inferior nobility of the province had been more constant than the great lords. Languedoc, Guyenne, Quercy, Saintonge, Poitou, Normandy, counted still some thousand noblemen devoted to the faith of their fathers, and who, in return for the good services they rendered to the king in his armies and fleets, asked only a little justice and protection.

XIII.

The abjuration of Turenne revived the projects of reunion, which had never been entirely renounced since the attempt of Cardinal Richelieu. The Prince de Conti, governor of Lower Languedoc, wishing to get into the good graces of Louis XIV., had already renewed this attempt in 1661; but the Provincial Synod of Nismes had replied to him in the rude language of the time, through the moderator, Claude, that the Protestants would be guilty of extreme cowardice if they consented to the *union of light with darkness, Christ with Belial*.

From 1670 to 1673, the project took a more serious turn. Marshal Turenne undertook it, with the approbation of the king, and attempted to gain the consent of the pastors. An agent of the court visited successively those who were subject to the National Synod of Charenton; and, partly through the menace of Louis XIV.'s displeasure, partly by the promise of effecting the reunion on an equitable basis, this emissary succeeded in extort-

ing from several ministers the verbal or written engagement, that they would support the project in the approaching assembly of the synod.

We are assured that the king was disposed to abolish the abuses in the Roman Church which were most offensive to the Protestants; that the worship of images, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, should be either suppressed, or at least materially altered; that theologians, freely chosen from both sides, should be charged with a conciliatory discussion on the Lord's Supper; that the use of the communion-cup should be restored to the people, and religious service celebrated in the vernacular tongue; in fine, that if the Pope opposed these alterations, the king should go on, having the consent of forty-two bishops on these articles, and possessing the means of bringing the rest to the same opinion.

It was evidently a lie. Louis XIV. could not execute what the subaltern agents promised in his name; and if the bishops had refused to make these concessions at the Conference of Poissy, when the Reformation was rapidly spreading throughout the kingdom, how could one man alone have done it for a small minority, walled in their temples, without political authority, stripped of all power of religious expansion, and half crushed?


Hence the most prudent of the Protestants did not fall into the snare. They knew, moreover, that Rome employed two entirely different languages: the first, when she wished to gain the heretics; the second, when she held them under her yoke. They knew, also, that the compromise would be confined, definitively, to an entire submission on their part, followed by a compassionate pardon from the other. This is the reason why the provincial synod, convoked at Charenton in the month of May, 1673, opposed to the new plan of reunion a bold refusal, and the five

pastors who had promised to support it solemnly declared that they would not do it.

The same attempts produced the same results in the Saintonge, the Languedoc, and the Vivarais. The court and the clergy saw clearly that they had no reasonable hope of making the Protestants submit by this means, and were obliged to try other modes to extirpate the heresy.

Two ways, very different in their spirit and their modes of action, were indicated by the adversaries of the Huguenots. The Jansenists, and, generally, the most enlightened and the most pious of the Catholics, proposed to convert them by persuasion, good treatment, and good examples, thinking it would avail more to leave the errorists out of the Church, than to compel them to enter as hypocrites. The Jesuits and their friends said, on the contrary, that it was necessary to employ, without reserve, the authority of the king and the parliaments, to exact, at any price, acts of Catholicity; next, to restrain the people by fear of torture: resting upon this maxim, that if the new Catholics had little faith, their children would have more, and their grandchildren more still. The court wavered long between these two systems, and this will serve to explain their alternations of mildness and rigor. But the counsels of the Jesuits at last prevailed.

The ordinances, proclamations, sentences, and other acts of the council came down like successive blows on the heretics. The number was so great, that it is impossible to indicate even the substance of them. They prohibited, successively, the Protestants from taking up contributions for the maintenance of their ministers and their delegates to the synods; from challenging suspected judges, although this right had been still preserved to other Frenchmen; from printing religious books without the authorization of the magistrates of the Roman communion; from sub-



orning and corrupting, that is to say, from seeking the conversion of the Catholics, under pain of a fine of a thousand livres; from celebrating their worship in the places and on days when the bishops were making their circuits; from having more than one school and more than one master in their school-houses; from allowing any thing to be taught by this master but reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. And so of the remainder. The Protestants were oppressed in their religious faith, their personal liberty, their political rights, their domestic condition, the education of their children; and every iniquity provoked, of necessity, new ones. Evil engenders evil.

Some pastors, having held, upon the ruins of their temples, which had been unjustly demolished, assemblies reputed illegal, were condemned to make *amende honorable* with a rope round the neck, and were then banished from the kingdom. The demolitions increased and multiplied on the most frivolous motives: on the denunciations of a bishop, or some other member of the clergy, on the litigation of a Catholic commissary, or simply, as the Faithful of St. Hippolyte experienced, on the charge of having been disrespectful to a curate bearing the holy sacrament in the street.

There were in the Béarn eighty-six temples, and forty-six churches of residence. A suit, which lasted seven years, reduced the places of worship to twenty, adding difficulties of every kind. It was nearly the same in the other provinces of the realm. If the council sometimes showed lenity, and prescribed to the intendants a little more moderation, the Pastor Claude presumes, in his *Complaints of the Protestants of France*, that it was to produce the belief that they granted justice, and that the condemned churches had no legal titles.

We find some consolation, in the midst of these persecutions, in dwelling on this warfare of the pen, which, at the same pe-

riod, was carried on between the most eminent doctors of both religions. Here, at least, material violence was not resorted to; here the combat was fairly equal; and if men of great genius assailed the Reformation, there were powerful and able champions to defend it.

The Jansenists were so accustomed to fighting, they could not give it up; and peace having been made between them and the Jesuits, by the interposition of Clement IX., they turned their arms against the Huguenots. They showed the more zeal, since they had been charged with being only Calvinists in disguise.

Arnauld and Nicole published then their famous *Perpétuité de la foi sur l'Eucharistie*, (1664–1676,) in which they attempted to establish, by the text of the Fathers of the Church, and by certificates received from the Orient, that the doctrine of the Real Presence had been always admitted in Christianity. Claude replied to them, that they had misinterpreted the sense of the Fathers, and that the certificates requested from the poor Greek Popes by the ambassador of France, who protected them against the Turks, had a very indifferent value. His reply met with extraordinary success; and the Jesuits exerted themselves in spreading it abroad, as Arnauld complains in one of his letters, because they were at least as anxious to humiliate the Jansenists as to destroy the Calvinists.

Nicole took the field again in his *Préjugés légitimes contre les Calvinistes*. His reasoning was not very discreet. He maintained that, before renouncing the Church of Rome, the humblest artisan should assure himself of the authenticity of the holy books, compare the translations with the original, examine all the variations, weigh all the interpretations of the texts, confront them with the decisions of the councils; accomplish, in a word, an immense work, which the most erudite scarcely dare

to undertake. These arguments, every one knows, have been turned by Rousseau against Catholicism, and even the Gospel. Claude, Jurieu, and Pajon replied to Nicole.

Arnauld came to the aid of his friend, in a work on the *Renversement de la morale de Jésus Christ par les erreurs des Calvinistes*. Men were astonished that a doctor, who agreed with Calvin on the doctrine of predestination, should have constructed all the scaffolding of his polemics on this sequence, *that grace cannot be lost*; and this was judiciously brought against him, not only by Brugier, pastor of Nismes, but by the theologians of his own communion.

The *Exposition* of Bossuet provoked, also, numerous replies. La Bastide, member of the Consistory of Charenton, and David Noguier, pastor in the Languedoc, demonstrated that this work was lacking in truth, and that the author fabricated an ideal Catholicism, which had no resemblance to the reality. Pierre Jurieu proved it better than any other person, in his *Préservatif contre le changement de religion*, and treated again the same question in his *Politique du clergé de France*. "Behold a man," says he, "who transports us into another country. In this new religion, no one worships images, no one invokes the saints; he only prays to them as we pray to the faithful on the earth to supplicate God for us. Till now, I had believed that devotions to the Virgin and other saints were important; I see the most part of the devotees consider them of great consequence; and these persons say that they are nothing, that they may be omitted, and that it is sufficient to invoke God and Jesus Christ!"

Claude held a celebrated conference with Bossuet, in 1678, upon the invitation of Mademoiselle de Duras. The two adversaries published the *résumé* of their debates. Bossuet had promised to make Claude avow that a simple individual, as ignorant

as may be, can understand the Scriptures better than all the councils and all the rest of the Church together—a proposition that he qualified as an absurdity. Claudè replied that the question was not so simple, and that, before demanding whether an artisan can be right against all the councils and the whole Church, there must first be found an article upon which the whole Church and all the councils have been constantly agreed.

Ten years after, the Bishop of Meaux reappeared on the arena, in his *Histoire des variations des Eglises Protestantes*. It smote the absent and the proscribed. The volumes of those who replied to him in Holland could not enter France. The privilege of a one-sided discussion should have been rejected by such a man as Bossuet.

XIV.

The jubilee of the year 1676 effected what certain historians call the *conversion* of Louis XIV. This prince experienced great remorse at having caused so many scandals to the court and his realm, by his public adulteries. He resolved, he promised his spiritual directors to see again no more Madame de Montespan. But he had not the energy to keep his word. Hence, a restless conscience, anxieties of mind and heart, which were dexterously made use of against the heretics, by Père La Chaise, a year afterwards elevated to the office of Confessor of the King. The Protestants were obliged to pay for the faults of the monarch, and to reconcile him by their abjuration or their ruin, with the God whom they had offended.

Such was the religion of Louis XIV. He had not piety enough to conquer his passions; but he had bigotry enough to suppose that he could atone for them by the reduction of the heretics to

a Roman unity. Louis XIV. had received his first religious ideas from a Spanish mother, who, very ignorant herself, had inculcated on him many trifling scruples, but little light on Christian faith and morals. The Jesuits had continued her work, by inspiring in their pupil sentiments which would serve their designs.

Conscious, at a later period, how badly he had been brought up, he mended his education in matters which interested most the dignity and the authority of his crown. But on matters of religion he remained where he was, and his morals were no better than his creed. "He never had a just idea of his duties," said M. de Sismondi. "It is not his amours alone which deserve censure, although the scandal of their publicity, the high dignities to which he elevated his bastard children, and the constant humiliation to which he subjected his wife, aggravated immensely the offence which he gave also to public morals. He rendered himself still more culpable by the merciless severity with which he poured out blood, sometimes by executions like those he inflicted on the Britons, to punish them for having defended their privileges, sometimes by the ruin of entire communities. No regard for his engagements, no notion of the just and the unjust, controlled his public or private conduct. He violated treaties as he violated his domestic engagements; he seized the property of his subjects as he did that of his cousin, *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. He recognized in his judgments, in his severities, no rule but his own will. At the moment his people were dying of famine, he retrenched nothing from his prodigalities or his scandalous games. Those who boasted of having converted him, had never spoken to him of but two duties—that of renouncing incontinence, and that of annihilating heresy in his States."

¹ T. XXV. p. 481.

Rulhières avows these aberrations of mind and conduct, while trying every means to restore the character of Louis XIV., in a memorial which was to be placed under the eyes of Louis XVI.: "During these alternations of disorders and scruples," said he, "while he passed from profligacy to remorse, and from remorse to profligacy, he thought he could atone for his disorders and merit from heaven a more effectual pardon, by working with greater zeal for these conversions."¹

One of the means Louis XIV. employed was to bribe consciences with money—a new proof of the detestable religious education his mother and the Jesuits had given him. He consecrated to this vile traffic the third of the stewardship or the benefices which fell *en regale* during the vacancy. The sum was moderate; but it was increased by leasing the vacant benefices expressly to purchase the abjurations of the heretics.

Pellisson had the management of this fund. Born in the Reformed communion, he had embraced Catholicism at the proper time for his fortune, and from a convert he became a converter. Doubly suspected by the king for his Huguenot origin and his intercourse with the superintendent Fouquet, he perceived that he must do much to gain the favor of Louis XIV. So he spared nothing.

The establishment opened by Pellisson was a bank, or a commercial house, an organized system, with correspondents, bishops or priests for the most part, his tariff, his bills of exchange, his branch treasuries in the provinces, and his vouchers to show the expenses. It was necessary to send certificates of abjuration duly signed, and receipts in good form, indicating the sum disbursed for an individual or for a family of proselytes.

This bank naturally tried to gain conversions at the lowest

¹ T. I. p. 97.

rates; they payed five or six livres, sometimes one or two pistoles, and, in extraordinary cases, from eighty to a hundred francs. We have on this subject a curious letter from Pellisson: it is the circular of a consummate merchant: "Although we can go up to a hundred francs, this is not to say that it is the intention always to go so far, it being necessary to use as much economy as possible: first, in order to scatter this dew over more people; and then, again, if a hundred francs are given to common persons, without any family, those who are a little more important, or encumbered with a great many children, will ask much larger sums. But, nevertheless, for more important conversions, if I am informed beforehand, greater sums shall be supplied, according to the decision of the king, to whom the case will be referred." (12th June, 1677.)

Pellisson presented regularly to the king lists of six hundred to eight hundred converts with certificates, and had his miracles inserted in the gazette. He only took care not to publish that these were almost all of the lowest class, or rogues who periodically traded off their consciences, or unfortunate persons who took the money to buy a morsel of bread, without any intention of renouncing their religion. The king exulted over these numerous conquests; the prelates applauded; the Jesuits triumphed; but sensible people distrusted it all.

Frauds multiplied so rapidly, it was necessary to inform the king himself. But instead of renouncing these shameful bargains, he enacted in council, in the month of March, 1679, a law still more severe against the relapsed heretics. "We have been informed," said he, in the preamble, "that in several provinces of our kingdom, there are many who, after having abjured the pretended Reformed religion, in the hope of sharing in the sums which we distribute to the new converts, soon after return to it." And the law pronounced against them, besides the old pain of

banishment forever, that of the *amende honorable*, and the confiscation of their property.

What a mass of iniquities and contradictions! In buying souls, we must necessarily suppose that they believed nothing; and after having bought them, they punished them for a new change, as if they had believed something! What can there be to inspire in all honest people a devotion which thus degrades itself? Is it contempt or pity? It is both.

The peace of Nimègue, concluded with all the powers of Europe in 1679, was the acme of the fortune of Louis XIV. He received the title of the Great, and scholars lavished upon him excessive adulation, and treated him as a demi-god. He was completely intoxicated with the incense. He considered himself really as the only true proprietor of all the territory of the realm, the only legislator, the only supreme judge, and the living *résumé* of the entire State. He went so far as to think that minds were enslaved to him as well as bodies, and regarded as high treason all conscientious opposition to his sovereign will. Unfortunate prince! He never degraded himself so much as when he affected such lofty pretensions.

Madame de Maintenon was beginning to get great control over him. The grand-daughter of Agrippa d'Aubigné, one of the staunchest defenders of the Calvinist faith, and strongly attached herself to her religion in childhood, she had abandoned it in 1651, at the age of sixteen years. When the Reformers saw that she was every day winning the confidence and intimacy of Louis XIV., they believed she would remember the communion of her grandfather, and employ her influence to protect it. But being *born ambitious*, as she avows in one of her letters, it was more necessary for her than for Pellisson to sink her heretical origin in oblivion, and she hoped to hold the heart of the king only by keeping him in a strict devotion.

Gifted with great genius and greater shrewdness, she had readily discovered the deep aversion of Louis XIV. to the Huguenots, and she governed herself accordingly. It seems, however, that she sometimes had feelings of commiseration for the oppressed. We read, in the *Mémorial de Saint-Cyr*, that the king said to her one day: "I fear, madam, that the lenity you wish us to show towards the Huguenots may spring from some remaining prepossession for your ancient religion." And elsewhere she wrote: "Ruvigny is intractable; he has said to the king that I was born a Calvinist, and that I had been so till I entered court. This obliges me to approve of many things entirely repugnant to my feelings."

We find in this avowal the key to her conduct. Madame de Maintenon, left to her impulses, had perhaps employed, as she recommended her brother, only mildness and charity; but anxious, above all things, to make herself agreeable to Louis XIV., she united with the confessor La Chaise to achieve, at all hazards, the ruin of heresy.

The plan of extermination became systematic and invariable after the peace of Nimègue: governors, commandants, intendants, military men, the magistracy, having learned that Louis XIV. was resolved to extirpate the Huguenots, were inflamed with a great zeal for proselytism, and became, in their turn, missionaries and converters. Their principal anxiety was to be able to send to court long lists of abjurations, or, at least, reports of worship interdicted, temples destroyed, and flocks dispersed. The privy council was sometimes alarmed at this excessive zeal, but they were unwilling to refrain it, from fear of emboldening the victims in their resistance; and soon, carried away by the force of circumstances themselves, they transformed into a general declaration what they at first blamed.

When a more humane counsellor or magistrate deplored these

extreme measures, they contented themselves with replying to him : " God makes use of all means."

The populace took their part, as might be expected, in these persecutions. In the towns of Blois, Alençon, and other places, bands of wretches invaded the temples, tore up the holy books, broke down the pulpits and seats, set fire to them ; and the magistracy, instead of repressing these excesses, sanctioned them by the interdiction of the worship and the exile of the pastors.

Louis XIV. persisted, nevertheless, in assuring the Protestant powers of Europe of his respect for the Edict of Nantes. We read even in a declaration of 1682, that he desired to do nothing contrary to the edicts, by virtue of which the pretended Reformed religion was tolerated in his kingdom ! Under the Valois, the persecution was cruel, but frankly avowed ; under Louis XIV., it was long veiled with hypocrisy : the Jesuits were in power.

XV.

As we approach nearer the revocation, the ordinances, already so numerous, as we have seen, still multiply and grow more severe. We shall class the most important under distinct heads.

Public Offices.—The exclusions extended by degrees to all public employments, without exception. Prohibition to the Protestants to be counsellors, judges, assessors, treasurers, financial clerks, consuls, municipal officers, lawyers, notaries, procurators, sergeants, bailiffs, physicians, apothecaries, book-dealers, printers, employees in the post-offices and couriers, members of corporations, etc., etc. They no longer even allowed that there should be midwives of the religion, because they did not believe, said the ordinance of 1680, that baptism is absolutely necessary, and that they cannot sprinkle infants.

In certain cantons, it was physically impossible to execute these edicts. How exclude the Protestants from all charges and all offices where they composed almost the entire population? They had to take for consuls and municipal counsellors mere adventurers from a distance, men without standing, and hence a great many disorders.

Civil Rights.—There were no more guarantees in the courts of justice. The chambers of the edict, at Paris and at Rouen, had been abolished in 1669. The *mixed chambers* of the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, were also annihilated in 1679, because, said they, in the preamble, all animosities are extinct! To the violation of the Edict of Nantes, was it proper to add derision?

It was not a rare thing to hear, in purely civil affairs, the Catholic party invoke this argument: "I plead against a heretic;" and when the Calvinists complained of an unjust sentence: "You have the remedy in your hands," replied they, coolly; "why do you not become Catholics?"

Marriage and Paternal Authority.—No more marriages were permitted between the Protestants and Catholics, even in the case of previous intercourse, which would have been made legitimate by wedlock. Prohibition to keep Catholic servants, from fear they would be seduced away, and soon, by an inverse abuse, a prohibition to employ any but Catholics, because they were used as spies. Prohibition to the nearest relatives to be tutors or guardians. Prohibition to fathers and mothers to send their children into a foreign country before the age of fifteen years. The order to hold as Catholics, and to educate in this religion, all illegitimate children, of whatever age and condition they might be. As they wished to give to this ordinance retroactive effect, many consequences resulted from it, as ridiculous as they were odious. Persons of sixty and eighty years were summoned

to enter the Church of Rome, because their condition of bastardy rendered them legally Catholics.

But they did more. An edict of the 17th of June declared that the children of Protestants could abjure at the age of *seven years*. "We wish, and it pleases us," said the ordinance, "that our said subjects of the pretended Reformed religion, both male and female, having attained the age of seven years, may, and it is hereby made lawful for them to embrace the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion; and that to this effect they be allowed to abjure the pretended Reformed religion, without their fathers or mothers, and other kinsmen, being allowed to offer them *the least hindrance*, under any pretext whatever." These children were free to go where they chose, and the parents obliged to furnish them an alimentary pension.

The law had terrible results. Every family trembled. They suspected in a friend, in a Catholic neighbor, in a servant, the least sign of friendship on the part of a stranger towards their children. An envious person, an enemy, a discontented debtor, went to a court of justice to declare that a child had made the sign of the cross, or kissed an image of the Virgin, or desired to enter a Catholic church; and this was often enough excuse for taking away the children, especially those of the rich, who could pay a pension, and to confine them in some convent, under the direction of monks, nuns, and priests.

Madame de Maintenon herself made use of this abominable law. Having vainly attempted to convert her relative, the Marquis de Villette, who had answered her: "I must have a hundred years to believe in infallibility, twenty years to believe in the real presence," and so of the rest, she took his children from him, among others, a little daughter, who was afterwards the Marchioness de Caylus. We read in the *Souvenirs* of this lady: "I wept much, but I found, the next day, the king's mass so

beautiful, that I consented to become a Catholic, on condition I might attend it every day, and be spared the scourge. This is all the controversy employed, and the only abjuration I made."

Contracts and Imposts.—Permission was given to the new converts to delay for three years the payment of their debts, which brought into Catholicism all debtors heavily involved or of bad faith. Exemption from taxes and accommodations for soldiers during two years for these same converts. Double burden of quartering soldiers, double taxes, or arbitrary contributions which they called taxes *by authority*, for the refractory, in order that the public treasury might not suffer from their liberality. Colbert complained in vain of these disorders: religion was more regarded than regularity in the finances.

Attacks against Property.—Confiscation in favor of Catholic hospitals of all the funds, rents, and other goods, of whatever nature they might be, which belonged to the condemned churches. Confiscation of all the funds and rents designed for the poor Protestants, even in the places where the exercise of their religion was not interdicted. The annulling of wills which made charitable legacies to the consistories. We shall see, throughout the rest of this history, how far they went in attacking private property.

Liberty of Conscience and Worship.—Order was given to the physicians, surgeons, and others who attended the sick among the Protestants, to inform the magistrates of it, under pain of a fine of five hundred livres; and the latter, consuls, judges, or aldermen, were obliged to visit these sick persons, *nolens volens*, with or without a priest, to demand of them whether they would make abjuration.

Prohibition to the pastors to speak of the *calamity of the times* in their sermons, of attacking, directly or indirectly, the

Roman Church, of residing at a distance of less than six leagues from the interdicted places, and of less than three leagues from the contested places. Prohibition to the people of assembling in the temples, under pretext of prayers and chanting psalms, out of the customary hours. Definitive interdiction of conferences. Obligation to admit a Catholic commissary to the consistories. Prohibition to support by charity the Protestant sick, or to take care of them in private houses: the order was to carry them to the hospitals, where they fell under the influence of Roman proselytism.

But what gave the climax to these measures of oppression, was the prohibition to receive into the temples any new convert, under pain of banishment and confiscation of property for the pastors, and of privation of religious worship for the flocks. At this last blow, the Protestants were ready to abandon themselves to despair. Many deliberated whether they should not renounce all public service, and confine themselves to prayer to God in their houses. What refinement of cruelty! To force them to guard themselves at the doors of their temples, and to drive out the brethren who had left them, without doubt, but who returned, perhaps, shedding tears of penitence! And furthermore, by what signs distinguish a new convert? Did they know all who had abjured? Was not one traitor enough to condemn a whole church? Thus were the temples of Bergerac, Montpellier, St. Quentin, Montauban, demolished: thus were all the others menaced.

It appeared as if their situation could not become worse. It, however, *did*, by the intervention of the Marquis de Louvois, who wished, according to the expression of Madame de Caylus, *to mix with it military means*. He was uneasy at being no longer, after the peace of Nimègue, necessary to his master, and was displeased in seeing devotion prevail over gallantry in the

heart of Louis XIV. He had made many efforts to bring back the king to Madame de Montespan ; but when he saw that his intrigues availed nothing, and that his sole means of pleasing the monarch was to second him in the conversion of the Huguenots, he engaged in it with all the impetuosity of his character—too happy in playing the first part by the aid of the troops he commanded. What miserable, what infamous means, in this so highly celebrated court, and under the mask of Catholic piety !

Louvois wrote to Marillac, intendant of the Poitou, in the month of March, 1681, that he would send into that province a regiment of cavalry. “His majesty,” said he, “has learned with much satisfaction the great number of persons who continue to become converts in your province. He desires that you continue to give great care to this matter. He thinks it best that the chief part of the cavalry and officers should be lodged in the houses of the Protestants. If, after a just distribution, the Calvinists would have to provide for ten, you can make them take twenty.” Louvois recommended, also, the communication of orders to the mayors and aldermen of the places, not by writing, but by word of mouth, in order that it could not be said that the king wished to do violence to the Huguenots.

Such was the origin of these *dragoonades*, which have left an ineffaceable stigma on the reign of Louis XIV., and horror in the recollections of mankind. Marillac marched his troops as if he was in an enemy’s country, exacting imposts in arrears, exempting those who became converts, and making the whole burden fall upon the unyielding. From four to ten dragoons were lodged in every house, with the order not to kill the inhabitants, but with authority, however, to do all they could to extort from them an abjuration. Some curates followed the soldiers in the boroughs and villages, crying out : “Courage, messieurs ! it is the will of the king.”

The soldiery, abandoned without restraint to their passions, committed frightful excesses :—they seemed like a horde of brigands who had penetrated to the heart of the kingdom. The *Journal de Jean Migault*, published recently, gives us an idea of their barbarities. Devastations, pillages, tortures, cruelties—they recoiled at nothing.

Elias Benoit has filled long pages of his *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*; we shall make but one or two extracts :—“The cavalry attached crosses to the muzzles of their musketoons, to force the Calvinists to kiss them; and when any one resisted, they thrust these crosses against the face and breasts of the unfortunate people. They spared children no more than persons advanced in years; and, without compassion for their age, they fell upon them with blows of sticks, or beat them with the flat side of their swords, or with the butt of their musketoons: which they did with so much violence, that some were crippled for life. These wretches dared even to inflict cruelties upon women. They lashed them, they beat them with canes on the face, to disfigure them; they dragged them by the hair in the mud and over the stones. Sometimes the soldiers, meeting husbandmen in the streets or following their ploughs, dragged them away to the Catholic churches, and pierced them, like cattle with their own goads, to hurry them along. . . . ”¹

A multitude of these unfortunate people fled into the forests; others concealed themselves in the houses of their friends; some resolved to leave the kingdom at any price, and men, women, and children were seen, half dead, lying on the stones or along the sea-shore: others, in fine, consented to abjure under

¹ T. IV. p. 479, 480. The author, a cotemporary of the events, specifies the facts, indicates the places, cites proper names, and his account bears the impress of perfect veracity, which is confirmed, moreover, by the memoirs of the epoch. We suppress the details, of which we could scarcely endure the reading.

the sabre of the soldiers ; but what an abjuration ! Some went mad or died from grief, or put an end to their days in paroxysms of remorse and despair. Some threw themselves down by the waysides, smote their breasts, and melted in tears. "When two of these unfortunate converts met," says Benoit again, "when one saw another kneeling before an image, or performing any other act of Catholic devotion, their cries redoubled, and grief burst forth at a new testimony. The husbandman, left to his thoughts in the midst of his work, felt more oppressed with remorse, and, leaving his plough in the furrow, threw himself on his knees, prostrated his face in the dust, asked pardon, and called all to witness that he had yielded only to violence."¹

Madame de Maintenon wrote to her brother, who was to receive a present of a hundred and eight thousand francs : "I beseech you, employ usefully the money you are to have. The lands in Poitou are sold for nothing ; the distresses of the Huguenots will bring more into market. You can easily establish yourself splendidly in Poitou." (2d September, 1681.)

The emigration, suspended in 1669, commenced again on a larger scale, and thousands of families abandoned France. The Protestant countries, England, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, offered them a shelter by official proclamations. The court was alarmed, especially because the chiefs of the administration of the marine complained of the flight of vast numbers of sailors, who escaped *en masse*, having easier means of emigration. Marillac was dismissed, and the other intendants were ordered to proceed with less severity.

They renewed the ordinances against fugitives, which interdicted their leaving the kingdom, adding to them the penalty

¹ T. IV. p. 502.

of perpetual condemnation to the galleys against the heads of families, a fine of three thousand livres for those who should encourage them to flee, and the annulling of all contracts of sale which should have been made by the Calvinists a year before their emigration. This last article overturned all private transactions, and it was necessary to modify it in the execution.

The law against the emigrants and that against the relapsed gave to the persecutors a two-edged sword. If the new converts ventured to a temple, they were smitten with a terrible chastisement, and they were equally so if they attempted to escape from the realm. In France, the government affected to see in them only Catholics; on the frontier, they arrested them as heretics. Rulhières, always anxious to clear up the character of Louis XIV., says that the misfortunes of the Protestants were principally owing to these two laws combined, in which Père La Chaise gloried, as a measure of exalted genius.

The assembly of the clergy, who had to gain the pardon of the Holy See for the temerity of the four propositions of 1682, sent a *pastoral advertisement* to all the consistories of France, in which it was declared that the bishops regarded the Huguenots as wandering sheep, and opened their arms to them, but that they should be discharged from the care of their souls, if the heretics did not bow before these charitable words. "This last error," wrote the prelates, "will be more criminal in you than all the rest, and you must expect miseries incomparably more frightful and more fatal than all those which have fallen upon you to the present time for your revolt and schism."

This advertisement was read in the consistories by the express order of the king. It converted no one; but every man foresaw new distress; for those who had made the prediction, had power enough to accomplish it.

XVI.

It could be seen that the condition of the Protestants had become intolerable. No more rights; no more guarantees nor security; their persons, their children, their property, at the mercy of the oppressor; the sword of proscription incessantly suspended over their head;—what Christian people in the world was more unfortunate than they?

A multitude of fugitives already filled Europe with their lamentations and grievances. Jurieu, who had found an asylum in Holland, wrote in 1682, in his work upon the *Politique du clergé de France*: “We are treated as enemies of the Christian name. Where Jews are tolerated, they enjoy all sorts of liberties: they exercise their arts and trades; they are physicians; they are consulted; the Christians trust to them their health and life. But for us, as if we were infected, they forbid us access to newborn children; they banish us from the law and colleges; they keep us at a distance from the person of our king; they snatch the offices from us; they forbid us the use of all the means which could save us from death by famine; they abandon us to the hate of the populace; they take from us this precious liberty, which we had bought by such just services; they carry off our children, who are a part of ourselves. . . . Are we Turks? Are we infidels? We believe in Jesus Christ; we believe in the Eternal Son of God, the Redeemer of the world; the maxims of our morals have such great purity, that they would not dare to confute them; we respect kings, we are good subjects, good citizens; we are Frenchmen as well as Reformed Christians.”¹

¹ P. 124–126.

But Jurieu spoke in vain. The books of the heretics could not pass the frontier. They even tried to destroy in the kingdom the ancient writings which assailed Catholicism. The Archbishop of Paris made out a catalogue embracing the names of four hundred authors, and they made visits at the private houses even of the ministers and elders, to burn all the condemned books which could be found in their libraries.

The Protestants sent complaints after complaints to the court, the council, the king himself. They plead their cause by the deputy-general, or by special delegates. Sometimes they resumed their grievances in general petitions, joining the most humble protestations of obedience and respect.

All was useless. The ministers of State contested the most undoubted facts, and menaced the complainants with still harsher treatment. The king kept himself within closed doors, or when, after long entreaties, he opened them, his words were cold and formal. The deputy-general, Ruvigny, having represented to him the great sufferings of more than two millions of Frenchmen, Louis XIV., they say, replied to him that, to bring back all his subjects to the Catholic unity, he would give one of his arms, and with one hand would cut off the other. This declaration, if true, announced to the Protestants the severest misfortunes.

They, however, continued to believe that Louis XIV., the grandson of the *Béarnais*, would have compassion on them if he understood the whole extent of their sufferings, and in this thought they resolved to make a last effort.

Sixteen deputies of the Languedoc, the Cevennes, the Vivarais, and the Dauphiny, secretly met at Toulouse, in the spring of 1683, and arranged a scheme, in eighteen articles, designed to re-establish their liberty of conscience and of worship, but without doing any thing that had the least appearance of revolt. After having recommended repentance, prayer, union among the

faithful, they decided that on the 27th of June following, all the interdicted assemblies should simultaneously recommence, without ostentation, but without any mystery, with open doors, or upon the ruins of the demolished temples. Those who had made a forced abjuration were to assemble separately, from fear of furnishing a pretext for new persecutions. The 4th of July a solemn fast was to be celebrated in all the churches. The pastors were exhorted to remain courageously in the midst of their flocks, and not to quit them upon the dismissal of an assembly, or in the most imminent peril. The delegates, in fine, wrote a petition to the chancellor and all the ministers of State, in which they promised obedience to the king in every thing which was not absolutely contrary to the service of God. "What is our situation?" said they: "if we show any resistance, we are treated as rebels; if we obey, they pretend that we are converted, and they deceive the king by our very submission."

This bold step was taken chiefly to show Louis XIV. that the abjurations *en masse*, of which he was informed, were a shameful falsehood. But there was not unity enough among the oppressed. The prudent, the timid, those who had not suffered as much as others, those who see no evil till it has come, counselled forbearance, and remained apart.

On the appointed day, however, a great many temples reopened, the assemblies reorganized, and worship was resumed in several places where it had been prohibited. Immediately the military governors, the intendants, took the alarm; they believed, or feigned to believe, there was to be a general insurrection, and troops were sent against these poor peasants, who, invoking the solemn pledges of the Edict of Nantes, had assembled to read the Bible and to pray.

The Marquis d'Aguesseau, father of the illustrious chancellor of the same name, and intendant of the Languedoc, counselled

the suspension of the violences of the soldiery ; but Louvois was opposed. He ordered horrible barbarities. The peasants were hunted in the forests, and killed by hundreds. *This was a butchery, and not a combat*, says Rulhières. Their temples were demolished, and their houses razed. To those who had been made prisoners an offer of pardon was made, on condition of abjuration ; they refused, and were hanged.

The Protestants of the Vivarais and the Dauphiny, reduced to despair, attempted to defend themselves with arms. Louvois promised them an amnesty, but it was only a mockery. All the ministers were excepted, with fifty other prisoners, without counting those whom they sent to the galleys. The pastor Isaac Homel, an old man of seventy-two years, accused of having fomented the rebellion, was condemned to be broken alive on the wheel, although in that age the greatest criminals were not subjected to so terrible a punishment. The executioner, who had got drunk to accomplish his task, gave him more than thirty blows before he got through, accompanying these tortures with cowardly insults. Homel died with the constancy of a martyr, (16th of October, 1683.)

In several provinces there remained no more than one or two places of worship, which they strove to interdict under the slightest pretext. The church of Mavennes, in Saintonge, for example, which was still standing, was soon suppressed, in its turn, with heinous circumstances. This church had given a refuge to thirteen or fourteen thousand persons ; but because a few relapsed, and a few children of the new converts had entered the temple, as they pretended, the worship was prohibited, and the sentence was served at the last moment in the same night, of Saturday and Sunday, (1684.)

The next day there appeared nearly ten thousand of the faithful at the door of the temple, and among them twenty-three

children for baptism, who had to be carried seven leagues distant. As the cold was intense, some of them died on the way. "The people, on returning," says Benoît, "gave signs of the profoundest grief. Tears, cries, and lamentations were everywhere heard—no restraint in the streets, nor in the fields. Relations and friends embraced in tears, and without speaking. Men and women, with clasped hands, and eyes turned towards heaven, could not tear themselves from the place to which they had come, in spite of the winter cold, to enjoy the consolation of prayer to God; and yet, in the midst of a sorrow so keen, they were still obliged to guard themselves against new attacks of the persecutors, remaining in great numbers on the spot where the sentence pronounced against the ministers rendered assemblies unlawful."

But if the persecution was great, piety was fortified by these very sufferings. There were provinces where the faithful went fifty or sixty leagues to attend public worship; and not only men in the prime of life, but old men of eighty years, went on foot, staff in hand, enduring all fatigues, all the dangers of the journey, to have, for a last time, the consolation of praying with their brethren. The first who arrived found an asylum in the temple; others stood around, singing psalms or reading prayers. And, as these assemblies would have been judged illegal without the presence of a minister, the pastor spent the night with them, exhorting them by his tears as well as by his words to remain constant in the faith.

Nowhere, all the ministers having been banished or imprisoned, the intendans were obliged to call others, *en-général*, to baptize their children and to celebrate marriages, — without adding any sentence, excommunication, or excommunication of the pretended Re-

formed religion." They watched these pastors as if they were infected with the plague, and sent them back when they had served to give the acts of the heretics a civil sanction, which was then confounded with the religious benediction.

But the court was not yet satisfied. Louis XIV., who had just contracted a secret marriage with Madame de Maintenon, had passed from an ignorant devotion to an ultra bigotry. He was irritated by the obstacles which retarded the general conversion of the Calvinists; and, swayed by the triumvirate of Père La Chaise, Madame de Maintenon, and the Marquis de Louvois, by degrees he became familiar with the idea of abrogating entirely the Edict of Nantes.

The Marquis de Châteauneuf, who was intrusted with the ecclesiastical affairs, counselled him not to precipitate matters, saying that they must not put too much fuel on the fire. Louvois himself appeared for a moment to incline towards moderation; but others were of an opposite opinion, as the old Chancellor Letellier, a cold and hollow-hearted man, of whom the Count de Grammont said, on seeing him retire from an audience with the king: "I think I see a pole-cat, which has just strangled some chickens, licking his mouth full of blood." Letellier demanded that the work should be accomplished before his death.

Madame de Maintenon wrote, the 13th of August, 1684: "The king is ready to do all that is deemed useful for the benefit of religion. This enterprise will cover him with glory before God and men." With glory! She did not foresee that, far from augmenting the glory of Louis XIV., the Edict of Revocation would leave upon his reign an indelible stain, and that posterity would ask whether he did not bring more evil to the material and political power of France, by this single act, than he had done good by the conquest of Flanders, Alsace, and the Franche-Comté.

In the month of May, 1685, the clergy held their General Assembly, and complimented the king on the admirable success he had obtained in the extirpation of heresy. Louis XIV. was extolled above the greatest princes of Christian antiquity. He had found, said the Bishop of Valence and the coadjutor of Rouen, the Catholic Church in degradation and servitude; but he had exalted it by his zeal. He had made all reasonable persons abandon heresy *without violence and without arms*, subdued their spirit, winning their hearts by his kindnesses, and restored the wandering, who never, perhaps, *could have returned to the bosom of the Church except by the flowery road which he had opened to them*. We copy *verbatim*, and shall add nothing.

Rulhières, who had been permitted to examine the State papers, says, in speaking of the intervention of the priests in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes: "We have in our hands the collection of clerical letters, and some of them make us shudder."

XVII.

Troops had been cantoned in the Béarn, in 1685, to watch the movements of the Spanish army. But Spain having demanded a truce, Louvois called to mind the method employed by Marillac in the Poitou, and asked permission of the king to allow the regiments to enter the places inhabited by the Huguenots.

The Marquis de Boufflers, commandant of the troops, and the intendant, Foucault, received, in the month of July, the order to begin the conversion of the *Béarnese*. The latter brought to his task a premeditated and systematic cruelty, and improved on many kinds of torture. Thus recommenced the dragoonades, which were soon to spread over all France.

Foucault proclaimed that the king ordered all the Huguenots

to return to the Catholic unity ; and to begin the work, he forced some hundreds of the Béarnese to enter a church where the Bishop of Lescar officiated. They closed the doors, and forced by blows of clubs these unfortunate persons to kneel, in order to receive from the bishop absolution for heresy ; and they were warned that if they returned to the preaching, they would be punished as relapsed heretics.

The Protestants fled into the fields, the forests, the deserts, the caverns of the Pyrenees ; but Foucault ordered them to be hunted like wild beasts ; and after having brought them back to their homes, overburdened them with providing military lodgings. The horrors committed in the Poitou were renewed and surpassed.

The dragoons or others (for they employed all kinds of troops) entered the houses of the Protestants with drawn swords, crying out : "*Death ! Death ! or be Catholics !*" They wasted all the provisions, broke the furniture, and destroyed or sold to the neighboring peasants every thing they found. They assaulted at the same time the inhabitants. "Among other secrets which Foucault taught them," says the historian of the Edict of Nantes, "he ordered them to deprive of sleep those who would not yield to other tortures. The faithful executors of these cruel orders relieved one another, that they might not have to succumb to the very tortures they inflicted upon others. The rattle of drums, blasphemies, screams, the crash of furniture, which they smashed or threw about, the trepidation in which they held these poor people, to force them to remain standing, and to keep their eyes open, were the means they used to deprive them of sleep. Pinching, pricking, twitching, pulling them up with ropes, puffing the fumes of tobacco into their noses, and a hundred other cruelties, were the sport of these villains, who, by these means, drove their victims almost to madness, and to promise every

thing to escape their barbarous tormentors. They inflicted on females indignities which we should blush to relate. . . . They showed pity only when they saw one almost dead or fainting away, when they cruelly tried to restore him, and permitted him to regain some strength, in order to renew their former violence. It was their chief study and exertion to find out torments which were painful without being fatal, and to inflict on these unfortunate victims all the sufferings which could be endured without death."¹

They had been forbidden to murder. But how many times even this limit was transgressed ! How many miserable beings perished under these frightful torments ; not butchered, it is true, but more cruelly sacrificed than if they had fallen under the dagger !

Before these terrific means, the Béarnese rushed in multitudes to the priests to abjure. Of twenty-five thousand Protestants still existing in the province, scarcely the thirtieth part resisted. The clergy celebrated their triumph by a grand mass, which the parliament attended in a body, and by general processions, in which they paraded their new converts.

This success encouraged the court to employ elsewhere the same means of conversion ; and in less than four months, they carried their dragoonades into Languedoc, Guyenne, Saintonge, Annis, Poitou, the Vivarais, Dauphiny, the Cevennes, Provence, and the district of Gex. They afterwards penetrated to the centre and the North of France, but with more caution, lest the cries of the victims should disturb Versailles, where they had, this same year, as Madame de Sévigné relates, brilliant carousals, with the installation of the Knights of the Saint-Esprit.

The most accredited historians agree about the excesses which

¹ T. V. pp. 682, 683.

accompanied the dragoonades. Almost everywhere the same scenes transpired as in the Béarn.

Neither sex, age, nor condition was spared. Aged nobles, who had poured out their blood for the country, were subjected to shameful indignities. Those even of very high birth, who hoped to find a refuge at Paris or at the court, were maltreated, or imprisoned by *lettres de cachet*.

If any of the Huguenots resisted all the tortures, after having robbed and ruined them, they threw them into prisons, and confined the females in convents. Missionaries in the train of soldiers attended some, Sisters of Charity others, and neither allowed their prisoners any repose, day or night, till they had promised to abjure.

If, in consequence of persecutions, they fell into a state of torpor, stupidity, or insanity, they made them sign mechanically a sheet of paper which contained an abjuration, or utter words whose meaning they no longer comprehended, and they were made Catholics. Or, further, they were ensnared, as the Barons de Montbeton, de Meauzac, and de Vicoze experienced at Montauban, and chosen men forced them, upon their knees, to receive the bishop's absolution.

It was not enough that the head of the family abjured; they did not exempt him from military quarterings until he had made his wife, his children, and his servants follow his example; and if any fled, the father of the family was responsible till they were brought into their power.

Before the soldiers arrived, the Calvinists were summoned to a general assembly, where, according to the places, the intendant, the commandant of the troops, the bishop, or some other officer, announced that the king would tolerate the heretics no longer in his dominions, and that they must, voluntarily or by force, embrace Catholicism at once. They had taken care to gain be-

forehand some personages who, by their position and advice, could also lead others with them.

When the unfortunate replied that they were ready to sacrifice for the king their property and their life, but not their consciences, the dragoons arrived. After a few days, a new convocation, a new appeal,—and ordinarily all resistance ceased. The terror, at last, became so great, that it was sufficient to announce the approach of the soldiery, and the dispirited Calvinists hastened to pronounce the formularies of abjuration. Many thought it was right to yield to violence, provided they kept the faith in their hearts, or only awaited the time and opportunity to flee.

We should remark, also, that these formularies were often so composed that they did not strictly bind the conscience. Public officers and priests were especially anxious to swell the number of the proselytes. Many of the Protestants said simply: "*Je me réunis.*" Others were even authorized to render their act of abjuration in these terms: "I acknowledge and confess the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, *as it was in the time of the Apostles,*" or even: "*conformably to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ;*" or, still further: "*loving God and Jesus Christ, and adoring him alone with the supreme worship which is his due.*"

But it was at least, on the part of the priests, a momentary concession. "They returned to them a few days after," says the Pastor Claude, in his *Plaintes des Protestants de France*, "and they did not escape until they had signed another formulary, wherein they bound them to the utmost; and, what was more shameful, they made them avow that they embraced the Roman religion with entire good-will, and without having been either persuaded or compelled. If they afterwards were unwilling to attend mass, if they did not commune, if they did not attend the

processions, if they did not confess, if they did not count their beads, if, by an accidental sigh, they testified their constraint, they were subjected to pecuniary penalties and renewed lodgements."¹

What, above all, most deeply impressed the people, was the fact itself of the dragoonades. The forced communions was a spiritual fact, which must more deeply impress the thoughtful and the pious man. To open, so to speak, the mouth of the heretics at the point of the bayonet, and to throw in the *host*, that sacred host which the Catholic Church teaches that he who partakes unworthily of is criminal in the last degree; the crime ordered by the very persons who had decided that it was the greatest of crimes—is there at this day in France a bishop, a priest, who does not shudder with horror to the depths of his soul? The Inquisition of Spain had, at least, the decency not to allow its victims to receive the communion or to attend mass. There were also a few generous protestations in the time of Louis XIV., especially those of the Jansenist party, to which we shall have to return; but the majority of the clergy, influenced by the Jesuits, forced the unfortunate Calvinists to take the host, although they showed by their pallor and trembling, as Basnage has described, that their hearts revolted at it.

The king's council, which took account only of outward acts, was equally surprised and delighted at these innumerable abjurations. Louvois wrote to the chancellor, his father, in the early part of September, 1685: "Sixty thousand conversions have taken place in the *généralité* of Bordeaux, and twenty thousand in that of Montauban. The rapidity with which they go on is such, that before the end of the month there will remain ten thousand Protestants in all the *généralité* of Bordeaux,

¹ P. 52.

where there were a hundred and fifty thousand the 15th of last month."

The Duke de Noailles announced to Louvois, at the same time, the conversion of Nismes, Uzès, Alais, Villeneuve, etc. "The most considerable persons of Nismes," said he, "made abjuration in the church, the day after my arrival. There was afterwards some coldness, and things were set in good train by a few quarterings which I had made with the most obstinate. . . . The number of Protestants in this province is about two hundred and forty thousand ; I believe at the end of the month it will be all over."

They thought they must render these abjurations more sure by a legal act ; and Louis XIV., circumvented and besieged by his confessor, his chancellor, his minister of war ; Louis XIV., little knowing, perhaps, what was passing in his realm, since he lived surrounded with flatterers, like a sultan of Asia in the interior of his palace ; Louis XIV., to whom Louvois and La Chaise had promised that it should not cost a drop of blood, having consulted, it is said, the Archbishop Harlay and Bossuet, Louis XIV. signed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the 18th of October, 1685. God left him still thirty years upon the throne, that he might bear the burden of the crime he had perpetrated.

The preamble of the Act of Revocation is an evidence of the enormous imposition they had practised upon the king. "We see now," said he, "with the just acknowledgment we owe to God, that our measures have secured the end which we ourselves proposed, since the better and the greater part of our subjects of the pretended Reformed religion have embraced the Catholic faith, and the maintenance of the Edict of Nantes remains therefore superfluous."

We give a synopsis of the Edict of Revocation : No more law-

ful exercise of the Reformed worship in the realm. Order to the pastors to leave the kingdom within fifteen days, and to exercise their office no longer, under pain of the galleys. Promise to the ministers who would change their religion of a pension worth a third more than what they enjoyed previously, with the half reversible to their widows. License of academical studies to those among them who wished to enter the practice of the law. Prohibition to parents to instruct their children in the Reformed faith, and an injunction to baptize them and send them to the Catholic churches, under penalty of five hundred livres. Order to all the refugees to return to France within four months, under pain of confiscation of their possessions. Prohibition to all the Protestants to emigrate, under pain of the galleys for men, and confinement for life for women. Lastly, confirmation of the laws against the relapsed.

The last article gave occasion for a cruel mistake. It was couched in these terms: "Furthermore, the said followers of the pretended Reformed religion, till it shall please God to enlighten them as others, will be able to dwell in the towns and places of our kingdom, without danger of being troubled or hindered, under pretext of the said Reformed religion, on condition, as it is said, that there be no worship." Liberty of conscience within themselves and in the family circle seemed, then, to be respected. The Protestants rejoiced at this, as an alleviation to their misfortunes, and some even suspended their preparations for departure; but never was a hope more sadly disappointed.

The event showed what these words—*until it shall please God to enlighten them as others*—signified: until they were, like their co-religionists, converted by the dragoons. Louvois wrote in the provinces: "His majesty orders that the extremest rigors be endured by those who will not conform to his religion, and those

who will have the foolish glory of wishing to remain the last must be driven to the last extremity."

The 18th of October, 1685, should be reckoned among the number of the most inauspicious days of France. It has troubled, impoverished, abased her for many generations.

The *politique* of Henry IV., of Richelieu, of Mazarin, of Louis XIV. himself, was blasted. It was no longer possible to preserve the natural alliances of France in Protestant Europe when the world resounded with the lamentations of the Reformed people. Protestantism rose against Louis XIV.; it found its head in William of Orange, and the parliamentary revolution of 1688 responded to the royal outrage of 1685.

Enfeebled abroad, the country was weaker at home. The emigration, of which we shall speak in the following Book, increased immensely. The sage Vauban wrote, only one year after the revocation, that France had lost a hundred thousand inhabitants, sixty millions of coined money, nine thousand sailors, twelve thousand disciplined soldiers, six hundred officers, and her most flourishing manufactures. The Duke de Saint-Simon says in his memoirs that commerce was ruined in all its branches, and the fourth part of the kingdom perceptibly depopulated.

From this moment, (all historians make the remark,) the fortune of Louis XIV. declined; and a few years after, vanquished at Neerheim, at Ramillies, at Malplaquet, this king, so happy and so proud during the first half of his reign, humbly prayed peace of Europe. It was granted at Utrecht, only upon the severest conditions. Throughout the eighteenth century the nation bore the weight of this humiliation; and even in our times, the Congress of Vienna has brought back the France of the worst years of Louis XIV.

The passage of royalty was deeply wounded by the same

blow. Appearances of submission and respect were observed; but public spirit began to rise against the omnipotence of the monarch. They asked whether the nations must intrust to a single man, who permits himself to be governed by a mistress, by a confessor, by silly superstitions, or by a foolish passion for personal glory, all rights and all power. In England and Holland popular liberties found energetic defenders. In France the pious Fenelon took the initiative, and after him Massillon, Montesquieu, Rousseau, the Abbés Mably and Raynal, the Protestant Necker, and Mirabeau. These men, so different in origin, ideas, and aim, belong to the same fraternity.

This is the political side of the subject. In a moral and social view, the edicts promulgated from 1660 to 1685, the dragoonades, the revocation, and the acts which inevitably succeeded, attacked, in their very foundations, from two to three millions of Frenchmen, the sacred and inviolable principles of all human society—religion, the family, property. Never have modern Socialists gone further in their theories than Louis XIV., the Jesuits, the Catholic priesthood, and the magistracy went against the Protestants. Let each bear his own share of responsibility.

Finally, in the religious aspect, properly called, the declaration of M. de Châteaubriand, which we have elsewhere cited, on the effects of St. Bartholomew, finds here a new and striking application. In considering the narrow and malicious bigotry of the king, the despicable intrigues of his confessors, the odious profanations sanctioned by the clerical body, the soldiers transformed into missionaries, the calamity and blood mingled with religion, all laws, divine and human, trampled under foot by those who were specially charged with their defence, the higher classes of the nation rushed headlong into skepticism. At the death of Louis XIV. the court was full of unbelievers, and Voltaire went forth all armed from the very bosom of this generation.

It has been pretended that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was popular. If that be true, it is the most biting accusation against the Roman Church which has thus educated, thus moulded France. But it is true only in part. The revocation was popular with the priests, who, by the mouth of Fléchier and Bossuet, exhorted their hearers to raise to heaven their thanksgivings and acclamations. It was popular with courtiers, the Marquis Dangeau, Madame de Sévigné, who adored even the traces of the steps of the monarch. It was popular among the lowest classes of the country, especially in the southern provinces, which blindly followed the promptings of their spiritual guides. Perhaps, to say all, it was popular with certain administrators, who hoped to obtain by the religious unity civil and political unity. But among the officers of the army and the navy, among the nobility of the provinces, even among the noblesse of the court, who had not entirely sacrificed their independence of mind, among the middle classes, who were to increase their power in the eighteenth century, and rule in the nineteenth—among these, was the revocation popular? What we have said above allows, at least, to doubt it; and if there remain few traces of their opposition, it is because it was difficult to make a word of freedom heard under Louis XIV.

Finally, every interest lost by the revocation—royalty, the political power of France, public wealth, industry, morals, the religious spirit, the Catholic clergy themselves: crime engenders only misfortune.

BOOK FOURTH.

FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES TO THE
EDICT OF TOLERATION.

(1685-1787.)

I.

Two conflicting sentiments divide this new period: the traditional spirit of persecution, which still inspires cruel outrages, frightful executions, even till the second half of the eighteenth century; and the new spirit of toleration, which, passing from the bosoms of a few good men into the writings of philosophers, from these writings into the convictions of the intelligent classes, from these classes to the magistracy, and the councils of the king, becomes at last an irresistible influence, and constrains the priests themselves to bend before maxims more true, more moral, more Christian than their own.

In affixing the seal of State to the Edict of Revocation, Chancellor Letellier had uttered, with an accent of joy and triumph, the *Nunc dimittis* of Simeon. He believed, and Louis XIV. with him, that this edict would end all; but, on the contrary, it was then that all recommenced.

As long as the Protestants had something to lose, were it only a shadow of their ancient liberty, were it but the hollow name of the edict of Henry IV., most of them had confined themselves

within the limit of petitions and grievances. They hoped always that the sanctity of law, justice, and humanity, would awake again in the heart of the monarch, and they carried their resignation so far as to make this expression proverbial: *C'est une patience de huguenot*. But when they had lost all, absolutely all, they consulted only what they owed to their conscience, to their insulted faith; and by their perseverance in braving the most barbarous edicts at the price of exile, the galleys, and death, they ended by tiring out the very ferocity of their tormentors.

A grand lesson is taught by the epoch on which we are entering: that it is easier to make martyrs than apostates, and that the power of the sword, except by exterminating every thing, (an impossibility in the reign of Louis XIV.,) recoils before the power of ideas.

The Act of Revocation was vigorously executed against the pastors; they even surpassed the letter of the edict, which granted a delay of fifteen days. Claude received the order to depart within twenty-four hours, and this *séditieux*, as Madame de Maintenon called him, was accompanied by a footman of the king, who did not lose sight of him for a single moment. The other pastors of Paris obtained two days for preparations. Those in the provinces had a little more time; but, by a complete subversion of all rights of nature and family, they took from them those of their children who had reached their seventh year. Some even were obliged to abandon infants at the breast, and went into exile, supporting their fainting and heart-broken wives.

Many abjurations were expected; these were very few, and besides, the pastors who had succumbed at a first shock of stupor and fright, almost all returned to their former faith. Old men of eighty and ninety years were seen gathering up the last remains of their life to undertake distant journeys, and more than

one died before reaching the asylum where he was to rest his weary foot and drooping head.

The arrival of these pastors on foreign soil produced there an indescribable sensation.

From all sides the people flocked together, with hearts throbbing with indignation and pity, their eyes bathed in tears, to welcome these venerable confessors of the Gospel, who, with the staff of the traveller in hand, tattered garments, worn countenances, mourning for the children and flocks they had been compelled to leave in the hands of their persecutors, came to ask a refuge at the altars of hospitality. An immense, a terrible shriek rose throughout Protestant Christendom against Louis XIV., and the Catholics themselves, in these countries, felt the blush of shame mantle their foreheads, as they thought of their dishonored Church.

The faithful, in great numbers, followed their leaders. It was in vain that the laws, which were becoming more and more merciless, condemned the men, who attempted to expatriate themselves, to the galleys for life; women to perpetual confinement; and both to the confiscation of their property; the abettors of their flight, to the same punishments, and afterwards to the penalty of death; it was in vain that they promised informers a share in the spoils of the victims; emigration spread steadily through all the provinces, and the despotism of Louis XIV. was powerless.

We cannot at this day comprehend such legislation; for if the king would tolerate but one religion in France, he at least should have allowed those who did not belong to it, who refused to join it, to leave the kingdom. This elementary principle of natural justice is so clear, that the Spanish Inquisition and the League had always permitted the choice between abjuration and banishment; but Louis XIV., by an unheard-of abuse of power,

would not suffer it. He thought only of *his jeopardded glory*, and did not see that no one compromised it more than himself.

The language of these ordinances is as incomprehensible as the substance. The words bore a terrible import. Thus, we read that flight into a foreign country was a *criminal disobedience*; as if it were a crime to abandon all rather than abjure their faith. We read further, that emigrants were guilty of *ingratitude* for not having used the permission to return to France; as if the absolute condition of their return had not been the revolt against God of their conscience! Behold how low Louis XIV. had descended under the two-fold promptings of his own pride, and of Père La Chaise!

Guards were posted at the gates of the towns, at the fords of rivers, in the seaports, on the bridges, on the highways, on all the by-ways which led to the frontiers, and thousands of peasants joined the troops posted from point to point to gain the reward promised to those who arrested the fugitives. But all was in vain. The emigrants purchased passports from the secretaries of the governors themselves, or the clerks of ministers of State. They bribed the guards with gold, and paid even six thousand, eight thousand livres for their escape. Some, with more boldness, crossed the frontier sword in hand.

The greatest part travelled by night through by-paths, and skulked by day from cavern to cavern. They had *Itinéraires* written out for this new kind of travel. They descended precipices, or scaled the peaks of mountains, under all sorts of disguises. Shepherds, pilgrims, soldiers, hunters, valets, merchants, mendicants—these were the guises of the fugitives. Some, the better to escape all suspicion, feigned to sell rosaries and chaplets.

An eye-witness, Benoît, gives long recitals: “Women of rank, aged even sixty and seventy years, who had never, so to speak,

set foot on the ground to walk, except in their apartments or in an avenue, travelled eighty and a hundred leagues to some village which a guide had pointed out to them. Damsels of fifteen or sixteen years, of all conditions, undertook the same perilous journeys. They trundled wheelbarrows, they carried manure-baskets and burdens. They disfigured their faces by paints, which bronzed their complexion; by pomatum, or juices, which bloated the skin, or shrivelled it up. Many girls and women were seen feigning to be sick, mute, mad. Some were disguised as men; and some, being too delicate and too small to pass for full-grown men, took the dress of lackeys, and followed on foot through the mud a guide on horseback, who played the master. Some of these females arrived at Rotterdam in their assumed dress, and went to the foot of the pulpit before they had time to change their apparel, and gave there public marks of repentance for their forced abjuration."¹

The passage by sea facilitated the escape of a multitude of the Protestants. They concealed themselves in bales of merchandise, and in hogsheads under supplies of coal. They packed themselves in the holds of ships; and there were children who passed whole weeks in these insupportable lurking-holes without uttering a single cry, lest they should betray themselves. Sometimes they took to the open sea in rude boats, without having dared to take provisions, and with only a little brackish water or snow to refresh themselves, and mothers thus moistened the lips of their babes.

Thousands of emigrants perished from hardship, cold, hunger, shipwreck, and the balls of soldiers. Thousands more were seized, chained with assassins, dragged through the realm to inspire more terror in their co-religionists, and condemned to

¹ T. V. pp. 953, 964.

row among the galley-slaves. The galleys of Marseilles were filled with these miserable wretches, among whom were seen former magistrates, officers, nobles, and old men. The women crowded the convents and the tower of Constance at Aigues-Mortes. But neither menaces, barriers, dangers, nor punishments could prevail against the energy and the heroic perseverance of the oppressed.

The court was alarmed at the depopulation of the kingdom and the ruin of industry. They believed that what had driven so many Frenchmen out of France was not a matter of faith, but the charm of a peril to brave, and for one day they left all the passages free. The next day they closed them, for it only increased the emigration.

Affected at so great and so imposing a calamity, foreign nations rivalled each other in sympathy for the refugees. England, Switzerland, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, generously contributed to their first necessities; and never did it appear more true, in the words of a contemporary, that charity draws from a fountain which is never exhausted. The more they gave, the more, it seemed, that they had still to give. Private individuals rivalled governments in the distribution of aid. They went to meet the fugitives; they furnished them with means of labor, with homes, even temples; and they paid for this liberal hospitality by the example of their faith, an honest life, and an industrious activity, which enriched their adopted countries. "The French Protestants brought to England," says Lemontey, "the secret and the working of precious machines, which laid the foundation of its prodigious wealth, while the just complaint of these proscribed persons cemented in Augsburg a league of vengeance."¹

¹ *Essai sur l'établissement monarchique de Louis XIV.* p. 418.

It is difficult to fix with precision the number of the refugees. We have already noticed the estimates of Vauban. An intendant of the Saintonge wrote, in 1698, that his province had lost a hundred thousand Protestants. The Languedoc had lost from forty to fifty thousand before the war of the *Camisards*, and the Guyenne at least as many. The emigration was proportionably greater still in the Lyonnais and the Dauphiny, on account of the proximity of the frontiers. Entire villages were abandoned, and many towns became half deserted. The manufactories ceased by hundreds; there were some establishments which entirely disappeared, and vast tracts of land wanted hands to cultivate them.

Voltaire says that in the space of three years nearly fifty thousand families left the kingdom, and were followed by a great many others. A pastor of the Desert, Antoine Court, raised the number to eight hundred thousand. M. de Sismondi believes, that in taking the least number, there remained in France a little more than a million of Protestants, and that three or four hundred thousand established themselves abroad. A writer hostile to the Reformation, M. Capefigue, who consulted the records of the provinces, states the emigration at 225 or 230,000 souls, namely: 1580 ministers, 2300 elders, 15,000 noblemen, and the remainder composed chiefly of merchants and artisans. It is well to observe that the intendants made these estimates during the first years of the revocation, and that they had an interest in diminishing the number of the emigrants, to avoid the reproach of negligence.¹

¹ Capefigue, *Louis XIV.* t. II. chap. 24, p. 258. The author is mistaken in regard to the number of pastors, or else he placed in his list professors, students in theology, and other persons indirectly attached to the ecclesiastical profession. Rulhières also speaks of two thousand ministers. Elias Benoit, much better informed in this matter, since he was himself one of the refugee pastors, makes the number amount to only seven hundred.

It appears probable to us, that from 1669 to 1760 the emigration, more than once renewed or suspended, according to the alternations of persecution and repose, took from France, deducting those who returned at the end of a few years, *four or five hundred thousand* persons, who belonged, generally, to the most enlightened, industrious, and moral portion of the nation.

From twelve to thirteen hundred refugees were seen to pass through the city of Geneva in a single week. England formed eleven regiments of those who wished to take arms, and built in the city of London twenty-two French churches. An entire faubourg of this metropolis was peopled with them. Holland regained more than Louis XIV. had made it lose by his invasions, and colonies of Huguenots settled even in North America, and at the Cape of Good Hope. Their name and that of their children has everywhere remained in honor.

This emigration has been sometimes compared with that of 1792; but there were more differences than resemblances. The emigrants of the Revolution had lost only aristocratic privileges; the refugees of the revocation had been despoiled of their rights, and even of religious and civil existence.

The former, at least those who emigrated first, left their country because they were unwilling to submit to national law; the latter, because they had been stripped of it. The emigration of 1792 was confined to but a single class of persons who were acquainted only with the profession of arms; the emigration of 1685 embraced all the constituent elements of the nation—men of business, manufacturers, artisans, husbandmen. Hence the refugees founded numerous and useful settlements, many of which still remain; while the latter left nowhere lasting traces of their passage.

It is equally difficult to calculate the number of Protestants

who perished in attempts at emigration, in separate struggles, prisons, galleys, and on the scaffolds, from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the Edict of Toleration under Louis XVI. M. de Sismondi thinks that as many died as emigrated, and he makes them three or four hundred thousand. The number appears to us an exaggeration. Yet Boulainvilliers asserts, that under the administration of Lamoignon de Bâville, in the single province of Languedoc, a hundred thousand persons were victims of premature death, and that a tenth part of them perished by fire, the gallows, or the wheel. We must probably add a hundred thousand more for the rest of the realm during the eighteenth century. Two hundred thousand Frenchmen sacrificed after an edict of pacification which had lasted nearly ninety years:—behold the new and bloody hecatombs immolated upon the altars of intolerance.

XIV.

The Protestants (we can properly now give them this name, which became almost universal, even in ecclesiastical documents) who had remained in the kingdom, were still exposed to dragoonades, after the Edict of Revocation, whenever they attempted to raise their heads. Those of the principality of Orange, and of the district of Metz, had hoped for safety in their privileged position, but they were subjected to the same outrages. They spared only the Lutherans of Alsace, who were very numerous, and protected, besides, by recent diplomatic agreements.

At Paris some moderation was observed, from fear of disturbing, as we have already said, the fêtes and the quiet of Louis XIV. Nevertheless, four days after the revocation, the temple of Charenton was razed to the last stone, and the members of the

flock received orders to join, without delay, the religion of the king.

As they did not hasten to obey, the principal elders were imprisoned by *lettres de cachet*. The Marquis de Seignelay then summoned to his *hôtel* a hundred notables, and enjoined them, in presence of the procurator-general and the lieutenant of police, La Reynie, to sign immediately an act of reunion. Several cried out against this brutal mode of proceeding: the doors were shut upon them, and they were told, with stern menaces, that they should not go out till they had obeyed. Disgraceful ambuscade, act of violence and extortion, worthier of a bandit of Calabria than of a secretary of State, the son of the great Colbert!

All the Protestants of France were compelled, by the terms of the edict, to place their children under the Catholic schools and catechism. A new ordinance ordered the seizure of children from five to sixteen years, of those who were suspected of still professing the Reformed religion, and the intrusting of them to Catholic relatives, or placing them elsewhere.

But this law was above the possibility of execution. There were not schools, convents, or hospitals enough in France to receive so many victims. They limited themselves, then, to laying their hands upon the children of the rich, who could pay an alimentary pension, and upon young girls in particular. These odious seizures were renewed during a great part of the century, and many families have preserved of them the mournful souvenirs.

They made war upon books at the same time as upon persons. The officers received an order to visit the houses of the Protestants, with the list of the Archbishop of Paris, of which we have spoken, and seize suspected writings. These searches, renewed from time to time, destroyed a great number of precious works;

even to the last copy. The Bible itself, the Bible, above all, was confiscated, and burnt with persevering animosity.

The priests were too few to give regular instructions to this multitude of pretended converts. They employed Capuchins, and other people of the same sort, coarse, impudent, illiterate, and some without morals. They excited among the Protestants only scorn and disgust. Children shut their mouths by their objections, and persons of mature age became rooted in their aversion towards a Church which was served by such ministers.

It was necessary to resort to new severities to extort acts of Catholicity. The curates made a call upon the *Frère réunis*, who were seated on separate benches, and the unhappy persons who would not attend mass or communion were exposed to a severe punishment. The soldiers lent a hand in this inquisition, and intendants, or contractors of the revenues, who were not willing to restore the property which had been taken from the Protestants, established inspectors in the parishes, who were to notice whether the new converts attended regularly at the mass, how they behaved, whether they performed the Paschal communion, and faithfully observed the commandments of the Church. It was the renewal of the system of the ninth and tenth centuries, and Frenchmen were treated as the savages of Paraguay were by the Jesuits. This was too much; Louis XIV. gave a secret order to the intendants to interfere no longer in acts of private life.

Notwithstanding the severity of the laws, and partly in consequence of it, the Protestants, on all sides, rose up again. Filled with horror of the Catholicism which they had feigned to embrace under the sabres of the dragoons, and execrating the law which, by an infamous sacrilege, ordered them to partake of the communion of the Roman Church, although they believed not

its dogmas—shame, remorse, the necessity of expiating the *faute* they had committed—all served to reanimate their courage. They held assemblies in the deserts, on mountain summits, in the depths of ravines, and pledged each other, in the name of God, to live and die in the Reformed faith.

The opposition manifested itself particularly in Lower Languedoc, the Vivarais, and the Cevennes, which afforded retreats almost inaccessible to the foot of the soldier. There the principal incidents of our history centre. In the beginning of the French Reformation, the first rank belonged to the provinces in the neighborhood of Paris. Next came the Béarn, the Poitou, the Guyenne, and the Saintonge. At length the Reformation stands erect, so to speak, only on the peaks of the mountains of the Languedoc. The other provinces of the South followed the movement, but later, and with little *éclat*. The Centre, the West, and the North for a long time confined themselves to the silence of private worship.

We shall remark, also, that the assemblies of the Protestants, at the close of the seventeenth century and the opening of the eighteenth, offered a striking trait of resemblance to those of the early days of Farel and Calvin; for they were composed almost entirely of the poor and obscure. The peasants of the Cevennes gave their hand to the artisans of Meaux. The nobles and the rich had abjured, or sought an asylum in foreign lands, and those who had neither fled nor perished, remained in retirement. From 1559 to 1685, the French Reformation embraced great families, who brought to its aid, perhaps, less of the religious spirit than of political passions; after the revocation, it was regenerated among the popular masses, and from them received a vigor, a devotion, a constancy, it had never known before.

At the news of these assemblies, a few pastors returned to France; and, as they were not sufficient for the work, they were

assisted by persons to whom they gave the name of *predicants*. These were husbandmen, day-laborers, herdsmen, who, with no other preparation than the fervor of their zeal, rose in the assemblies, and from the abundance of their hearts addressed to their hearers pious exhortations. Some disorders in belief and conduct resulted from it, of which we shall have to speak.

On hearing that the new converts had recommenced their worship, the king, his ministers, and the Jesuits were transported with uncontrollable rage. It was a phrensy. Sentence of death was pronounced, in the month of July, 1686, against the pastors who had returned to France; and those who lent them succor, an asylum, or any assistance whatever, were condemned to the galleys for life; a reward of five thousand five hundred livres to one who seized, or secured the seizure of a minister; in fine, the sentence of death against those surprised in an assembly. We ask, how the elegant court of Louis XIV. could decree this law, of which cannibals themselves would have been ashamed?

The soldiers began on all sides to hunt the Protestants;—it was, in the words of Voltaire, a chase in a grand cover. The Marquis de la Trousse, nephew of Madame de Sévigné, who commanded in the Cevennes, continually scoured the country with a body of troops. When he heard the Protestants praying or chanting psalms, he ordered his men to fire upon them as if they were wild beasts. These poor people were without arms; they made no resistance; the boldest threw stones in flying; and if they could not escape, they waited death on their knees, raising their hands to heaven, or embracing each other. The truthful and upright pastor, Antoine Court, said that he had been furnished with an exact list of the assemblies massacred in various places, and that there were some encounters in which three

or four hundred persons, old men, women, young children, were left dead on the spot.

In the time of the Albigenses or the massacres of Merindol, they would have made an end of these assemblies by killing all, murdering the last child on the hearth of the paternal fireside. In the time of Louis XIV., manners had already become less barbarous than the laws; they did not dare to strike down more than half, and after cruel effusions of blood, they were obliged to stop.

This retrograde step was not the only one. When the Protestants were on the bed of death, fearing no more the cruelties of men, and contemplating the judgment of God, they refused to receive the sacraments of the Church. A new law followed, not less atrocious than preceding ones, but it could not long be executed. Galleys, or confinement for life, with confiscation of property, for the sick who should recover, after having rejected the sacrament; and if they did not recover, vengeance on their corpses, which were to be drawn on the hurdle and thrown to the carrion-field.

Rulhières says that, to obtain the signature of Louis XIV., they persuaded him this law would be simply a threat; but in some places it was executed by the priests and the rabble, and the soil of France was polluted by hideous spectacles.

Certain Protestants themselves called the curate, in their last moments, to reaffirm their refusal of the sacraments of the Church, because they wished to make some reparation before God and before men. Then the corpses, or the fragments of them, were dragged through the streets, across mud-holes, in the midst of the howlings of an infuriated populace:—a scene so horrible, that, in the environs of Calais, an executioner took to flight not to participate in it; but they compelled him to return, through dread of death. Elsewhere, they even forced the Protest-

ants themselves to drag the bodies of their brethren. One of them fainted, and fell; he was killed by a soldier, and thrown upon the same hurdle. Guards were posted by corpses, to prevent the families from taking them away and digging for them a secret grave.

Again they had overstepped the limit of the possible under the reign of Louis XIV. All honorable men, Catholics as well as Protestants, cried out with horror; and, without formally revoking the law, the intendants were ordered not to execute it except in extreme cases. The Secretary of State for ecclesiastical affairs wrote to them, the 5th of February, 1687, that his majesty released them, to some extent, from the execution of the ordinance. "In regard to those," said he, "who, in dying, make such declarations (the refusal of the sacraments) from a simple motive of obstinacy, and whose relatives testify their disapprobation, it will be well not to stir the thing, and to abstain from procedure. For this end, his majesty thinks it proper that you should inform the ecclesiastics that it is not necessary, in these cases, to summon so hastily the judges to be witnesses, in order not to be obliged to execute the declaration in all its extent." This applied to those curates who, bearing the viaticum, escorted judges and bailiffs, and inflamed the passions of the populace.

Thus, difficulties arose at the moment when they hoped all were overcome. There was but one thing to do, since they could not massacre a million of Frenchmen: it was to retrace their steps; but they lacked the courage, notwithstanding the advice of Vauban, who, from the year 1686, had dared to pronounce the word of *rétractation*, and they vacillated between the impossibility of victory and the dishonor of contradicting themselves.

The prisons were gorged; the galleys crowded. As they knew not what to do with all these convicts, they transported a great

number of them to America, where they almost all miserably perished. Some of those who remained in the State galleys, or were condemned to die, exhibited grand examples of fidelity and perseverance. Jurieu enumerated them in his *Pastoral Letters*, published every fifteen days, immediately after the revocation. We can borrow from him only two or three illustrations, and these we must greatly abridge.

An old captain of a merchant ship, Elias Neau, had been sent to the penitentiary of Marseilles, for having tried to expatriate himself. There he became a missionary and preacher. He exhorted his brethren, consoled them, and showed himself a model of virtue. "I wish," wrote he to his pastor, who had fled into Holland, "no harm to those who have bound me with the chain. On the contrary, in thinking to do me an evil, they have done me a great good; for I conceive now that true liberty consists in being freed from sin."

The Catholic chaplain, seeing that he fortified his companions in misfortune, treated him as one infected with the plague, a poisoner, and even declared that he would say mass no more, so long as this man was in the galley. Elias Neau was then confined in a dungeon of the citadel in 1694.

He remained there several years, deprived of the sun, the air, and often of food, covered with a sack, the cap of a galley-slave on his head, unable to receive books, even Catholic books, and yet he wrote to his pastor: "If I told you of our want of the light of the sun of nature, the Son of grace shone with his divine beams in our hearts, (he had two companions in his prison)! . . . It is true that we often have painful moments, and which are dreadful for the flesh; but God is always near us to silence them, and sweeten the bitterness by his infinite goodness."

Elias Neau was set at liberty with other victims of the Protestant faith, by the intervention of the King of England. We

are reminded that France had already suffered a like shame under the reign of Henry II.¹

The preachers and pastors had nothing to expect but death. There was neither pardon nor pity for them. The first one brought to punishment was a young man of Nismes, named Fulcran Rey. He had just finished his theological studies, and had not yet received the pastoral consecration. He, however, began to preach, "knowing," says Jurieu, "that when the house is on fire every body should try to put it out." Rey had taken care to write a favorable letter to his father, knowing that he would not long escape the persecutors. He was, indeed, betrayed by a wretch, and seized in the town of Anduze.

They resorted both to promises and threats to make him change his religion. The priests, the judges, the intendant, promised him all sorts of favors if he would abjure, and a terrible punishment if he did not. Every thing was powerless against his fidelity. Rey had accepted martyrdom in advance. He asked only one thing: it was, not to be brought into the presence of his father and his mother, lest he should be overcome by the power of natural affection.

When they read to him the sentence which condemned him to be hanged, after being put to the rack, he said: "They treat me more gently than my Saviour was treated in condemning me to so mild a death. I had prepared myself to be broken on the wheel or to be burned." And lifting his eyes to heaven, he rendered thanks to God.

Having met, on the way to the scaffold, several who had abjured, and seeing them bathed in tears, he addressed them with fraternal exhortations. He desired to confess his faith from the

¹ Vide the *Histoire abrégée des souffrances du sieur Elie Neau sur les galères et dans les cachots de Marseille*. Rotterdam. 1701.

top of the scaffold. "But they feared," says Jurieu, "a sermon preached from such a pulpit, and by such a preacher, and placed around the gallows *several drums, which they ordered to be struck at once.*" Fulcran Rey died at Beaucaire, the 7th of July, 1686, at the age of twenty-four years.

Astounding vicissitudes of human affairs! Who would have said to Louis XIV. that his great-grandson, a king of France, would also have his voice drowned by drums upon the scaffold? Princes, beware how ye give your subjects spectacles of atrocious murders. Ye are men, like others, and disastrous days may rise upon your heads!

The most celebrated of the martyrs of this epoch, the one who left the most lasting souvenirs of admiration and sorrow in the heart of the Protestants, was Claude Brousson. Born at Nismes in 1647, he had practised at the bar of Castres and Toulouse. So long as he could defend, before the courts, the cause of the oppressed churches, he sought no other vocation; but when they shut his mouth as an advocate, he reopened it as a preacher. They offered him in vain a place as counsellor to the parliament if he would change his religion; the conscience of Claude Brousson was not to be sold.

He was consecrated to the holy ministry in the Cevennes, while the guns were thundering, which scattered death through the ranks of his brethren; and from that hour, having no shelter but the wild rocks, the forest, or some isolated cabin, he announced, without ceasing, the words of the Gospel. When he was pressed too closely, he abandoned France; but he returned soon, called by his affection and the lamentations of the people. His wife, his friends, attempted more than once, but in vain, to retain him.

A price was set on his head in 1693, and a reward of five hundred louis offered to whoever would deliver him up dead or

alive. Brousson replied to this proclamation only by a simple and calm vindication, addressed to the intendant of the province.

The same spirit pervades his sermons, which appeared at Amsterdam, in 1695, under this title: *La manne mystique du désert*. It is natural that discourses written by an exile, under a forest oak, or on a rock in a torrent, and pronounced in assemblies where the dead were often strewn as on a battle-field, would wear an exalted, sombre enthusiasm. Nothing of this kind appears in this *mystic manna*. The orator has a language more moderate, more mild than that of Saurin, in the quiet Church of the Hague: he sees in persecutions only the hand of God, and he is vehement only when he censures his auditors.

Claude Brousson was at last arrested at Oleron, in the Béarn, in 1698, and conveyed to Montpellier. He might have fled while travelling on the canal of the South; he did not, for he felt that his hour had come. In his interrogatory, he accepted without any hesitation the accusations which touched upon the exercise of his ministry, but he disavowed in the most positive terms a reproach entirely false: that of having conspired to introduce into France the Marshal de Schomberg at the head of a foreign army.

The 4th of November, he mounted the scaffold, and his voice was drowned by the rolling of eighteen drums. "I have executed more than two hundred victims," said the executioner, a few days after; "but no one made me tremble like M. Brousson. When they put him to the torture, the commissary and the judges were paler and more trembling than he, who lifted his eyes to heaven in prayer to God. I would have fled, if I could, to avoid putting to death so honest a man. If I dared to speak, I should have many things to say about him: certainly, he died like a saint."

III

When the calamities which had followed the Edict of Revocation were fully known, and to what extremities the council were reduced to support the mock fiction of the unity of faith throughout the kingdom, soul-inspiring protestations began to be heard.

The Jansenists must be cited first. They said that their hair stood on end at the thought of the sacrilegious communions which were imposed upon the heretics, and repulsed, as a monstrous irreverence against God himself, the proselytism which was carried on by the terror of the dragoons, the galleys, and the scaffolds.

The Bishops of Grenoble and Saint-Pons merit here the most honorable notice. The first addressed to the curates of his diocese a letter condemning the forced communions. The second wrote to the commandant of the troops that all violence in such a matter was impious. "These are," said he, "veritable sacrileges. It should be desired for these poor unfortunates who commit them, and for the ministers of the altar who are the instruments of this abomination, that they should be thrown into the sea, as says the Scripture, with mill-stones round their necks; for they not only confirm the Huguenots in their unbelief, but they shake still further by it the wavering faith of the Catholics."

Honest and pious curates refused, also, to perform the office of accusers, and to torment to death the souls who did not wish their ministry. But the Jesuits and the great mass of the clergy persisted in recommending and employing severe measures. Fenelon wrote from Saintonge, in 1686: "The Jesuits carry

here heads of iron, who speak to the Protestants, for this world, only of fines and prisons; and for the other, only of the devil and hell. We have had infinite trouble to prevent these good Fathers from breaking forth against our mildness."

A singular spectacle, at first sight, to behold on one side the Jesuits, with a piety so equivocal, with morals so accommodating, the inventors of the *dévotion aisée*, advocating the most atrocious proceedings against the Protestants; and, on the other, the Jansenists, so rigid in their articles of faith, so austere in their practices, insisting upon conciliating moderation. But the astonishment ceases when we reflect that, for the one party, it especially concerned the question of authority; and for the other, sincerity. The former were content with indifferent Catholics, provided their head was bent under the yoke of the Church; the latter wished for true Catholics, and could not look for them in soldiers and butchers.

The appointment of M. de Noailles, afterwards cardinal, to the See of Paris, gave some power to the Jansenist party, which had never been completely banished from the court or the councils. The archbishop addressed to the king a memorial, in which he exhorted him to take measures more conformable to the spirit of Christianity. He was seconded by statesmen who considered principally the political bearings of the question. The superintendent, Pontchartrain, regretted the loss of so many artisans and industrious citizens. The Marquis d'Aguesseau, the Duke de Beauvilliers, the Marquis de Pomponne, the Marshal Catinat, expressed the same opinions. They were especially surprised at the increase of the public misery; they saw, with terror, that the power of destruction had exceeded very much, at this period, that of production, and that the finances were in the most deplorable condition.

Vauban wrote to Louvois the following lines, which prove that

the revocation was not as popular among the enlightened classes as has been pretended : "The forced conversions have inspired a general horror at the conduct which the ecclesiastics have pursued. If they wish to continue thus, it becomes necessary to exterminate the pretended new converts as rebels, or to banish them as relapsed, or to confine them as madmen—execrable projects, contrary to all Christian, moral, and civil virtues."

The timid Racine himself raised his voice, in the tragedy of *Esther*, represented in 1689. "The choice of the subject," says one of the annotators of the great poet, "offered the strongest allusions. At the moment when they were persecuting the Protestants, the poet dared to sound forth the true maxims of the Gospel. He took up the defence of the oppressed in the presence of the tyrannical monarch. In fine, he painted Louvois in the most odious colors; and, that it might not be possible to misunderstand him, he put in the mouth of Aman the very words uttered by the minister in the delirium of his pride."¹

Fenelon submitted to the eyes of Louis XIV. a memorial of great boldness, and which was long unknown. It was published for the first time in 1825. The Archbishop of Cambray represents Père La Chaise as a man of a narrow and coarse mind, fearing true virtue, loving only profane and dissipated men, keeping the king in his ignorance, and like *one blind man leading another*. He addressed to Louis XIV. himself severer reproaches than all we have made in this history : "You do not love God," said Fenelon to him, "you fear him only with the dread of a slave; it is hell, and not God you fear. Your religion consists only in superstitions, in trifling, superficial prac-

¹ *Edition Lefèvre*, p. XXXIII. There are some lines in which the allusion is striking :

On peut des plus grands rois surprendre la justice,

 Et le roi trop crédule a signé cet édit.

- tices. You are scrupulous about trifles, and insensible about terrible calamities. You care only for your own glory and convenience. You assume every thing to yourself, as if you were the God of the earth, and all the rest had been created to be sacrificed for you !”

Madame de Maintenon, at variance with Père La Chaise, and moreover confident of the future, appeared also to approve the advice of the Archbishop of Noailles, Fenelon, and the Jansenists. She wrote to one of her relatives : “ You are converted ; trouble yourself no more to convert others. I avow to you that I do not wish to take upon myself before God nor the king the responsibility of all these conversions.”

But the immense pride of Louis XIV., who was indignant at the idea of declaring to his people and to Europe that he had erred, the memory of the adulations given him for this enterprise, and which continued to blind him, the influence of Père La Chaise, who treated as prevarication every project of alleviation, in fine, the negative responses of most of the bishops to the letter of M. de Noailles, who had consulted them on the proposed new measures ;—all combined to frustrate the plan of the Jansenists.

These laborious negotiations produced only the edict of the 13th of April, 1698, which solemnly confirmed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not one law of torture and blood was abolished : it was only directed to employ new means the better to instruct recently conciliated subjects.

The conduct of the governors and intendants was not changed. They acted in regard to the Protestants like proconsuls, having the enormous privilege of imprisoning, condemning to the galleys, dragging to the gibbet, firing grape-shot, seizing children, confiscating property, without even the form of trial. Intolerance had subjected the Protestant population to the régime of Turkey.

None of these intendants had as much celebrity as Lamoignon de Bâville, who, for thirty-three years, was the supreme administrator, or, as they called him, the king of Languedoc. He had for his motto: *Toujours prêt, jamais pressé*. He was a calm, methodical, hard man, with no passion but for power, coldly ordering the most frightful executions, hanging, decapitating, quartering sixty, eighty persons at a time, devastating entire cantons, burning boroughs and villages, not through religious fanaticism, but political policy. He combined, in himself, Louis XI., Richelieu, Robespierre, and bent, without mercy, to his policy, the sufferings, the tortures, the murder, of a whole people. Bâville was, in the words of a contemporary, the terror and the horror of the Languedoc.

He had not approved the revocation; but when it had been pronounced, he advised its execution to the utmost against the obstinate. "It is necessary for securing the tranquillity of the State," wrote he, "to force their will, to act in the spirit of system, to pursue it unflinchingly, to reduce them to an entire submission, to tear from their heart the prejudices of birth, to oblige them, by authority, to range themselves under the religion of the realm." It mattered little to him whether the religion was true or false, accepted or rejected by the conscience of the new converts; it was the *religion of the kingdom*, and it must be submitted to. *Let them damn themselves, provided they obey*, said a military commandant in the same epoch. Behold here the most infamous form of moral degradation! a persecutor without fanaticism!

The savage proconsul was exasperated at the obstinacy of the Protestants in holding assemblies. He ordered his troops to surround them, and charge with the sabre and the musket. The most notable of the prisoners were hanged to the first trees they met, the others sent to the galleys: and it is computed that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were two thousand

of these unfortunate convicts who were more brutally treated than highway robbers.

The priests of these provinces, receiving from those whom they regarded as their flock only marks of aversion and disdain, shared, in great numbers, the wrath of Bâville, and aided him in satiating it. They spied out the delinquents, denounced them to the authorities, headed the soldiers, and showed themselves as much more cruel as it was not their vocation to be.

The most ferocious of all was one named du Chayla, inspector of missions and arch-priest. He had made of his house a fortified castle, or a cavern of banditti, and seemed to experience a keen delight in torturing his victims. "Sometimes," says Court de Gébelin, "he tore out with pincers the hair of the beard or the eyebrows; sometimes he put burning coals in their hands, which he closed and then pressed with violence, until the coals were extinguished; often he enveloped all their fingers on both hands with cotton, saturated with oil or grease, which he lighted and kept burning till the fingers opened, or were consumed by the flame to the very bones."¹

He had just captured a troop of fugitives, and confined them in fetters like animals; among others, two young ladies, allied to the most considerable families of the country, when, on the 24th of July, 1702, at ten o'clock in the evening, forty or fifty resolute men knocked at his door, at the Pont-de-Montvert, chanting a psalm. These avengers of blood penetrated first into the dungeons and delivered the prisoners, whom they found with swollen bodies, bones half broken, and unable to stand up.

The Abbé du Chayla had given orders to his servants to repulse them with musket-balls, and one of the assailants fell. The others set fire to the house, seized the arch-priest, brought

¹ *Hist. des Omisards*, l. I. p. 25.

his victims before him, showed him their bruised limbs, their mangled bodies; and all, after this frightful act of accusation, struck him down with their arms. He died by fifty-two wounds. Thus commenced the war of the Camisards.

IV.

This last armed struggle of the French Reformation cannot be compared with any of those which preceded it. Admiral Coligny and Henry of Navarre were sustained by entire provinces, and half the nobility of the kingdom. The Duke de Rohan was still a formidable chief, an able captain, who engaged with his noblemen in regular battles. Here are poor peasants, having no arms but those they had wrested from their enemies, understanding nothing of the art of war, and compelled to sell their life dearly behind the thickets and rocks of their mountains. They had no nobles at their head; they had not even the Calvinist *bourgeoisie* of the country and the towns; it is the humblest of the people who poured out their blood and died around the standard on which they had written: *Liberty of religion*.

The Camisards gave the command to men whom they regarded as inspired or prophets. A new convert, half abbé, half writer of comedies, and who mingled fantastically his theatrical pieces with controversial writings, Bruyéis, poured out his irony and gall upon these prophets, in his *Histoire du fanatisme*. Other Catholic writers imitated him. The Bishop Fléchier, himself, followed up the enthusiasts of the Languedoc with his cold and harsh antitheses.

Rulhières is more just; he honestly charges the persecutors of the Cévenols of having caused these disorders. "Shall we forget, then," said he, "that their temples have been destroyed, and

their country delivered up to the mercy of the soldiery, their children seized, the houses of those whom they called opinionated razed to the ground, and their most zealous pastors broken on the wheel? And yet they had neglected to instruct them in our religion.”¹

Such were, indeed, the causes of these ecstasies or wild ravings; the want of spiritual conductors and of schools, spoliations, sufferings, the frightful paraphernalia of death, the continual dread of the penitentiary and gibbet. The spirit of these unfortunates became diseased; and, finding no more support on the earth, they easily believed that they received supernatural communications from on high.

This religious fanaticism commenced in the Vivarais, the day after the dragoonades and the revocation. The fourth pastoral letter of Jurieu, dated the 15th of October, 1686, relates that a man of Codognan thought he had a vision and heard a voice, which said to him: “Go and comfort my people.” In the Béarn and elsewhere, the simple people imagined that they had heard in the air the chant of psalms, and attended with wonderful apparitions.

Shortly after Isabel Vincent appeared, *the shepherdess of the Dauphiny*, a young girl from sixteen to seventeen years old, not knowing how to read or write. She had ecstasies. “The five first weeks,” says Jurieu, “she spoke during her transports only the language of her country, because she had for auditors only the peasants of her village. The report of this miracle having spread, people came who could speak and understand French. Then she began to speak French, and a French, also, as correct as if she had been at Paris in the families where it is spoken the best. She makes prayers which are admirable and excellent.

¹ T. II. p. 278.

Her gestures are not violent. She moves her lips but little, and without any appearance of convulsion."¹

It spread like a moral contagion through the Vivarais and the Languedoc. Prophets or inspired persons were counted by hundreds. These were people who had read only the Bible;—they quoted from it numerous passages, and made continual applications of them. They quoted especially the texts of the prophetic books of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse. Even children received these inspirations, and they persisted in them in spite of the severities of their parents, who were held responsible for these strange phenomena.

The ecstasy had four degrees—the warning, the breathing, the prophecy, and the gift, or the inspiration in its highest degree. These *illuminés*, we cannot doubt, were sincere. They believed, first of all, in the spirit with which they declared themselves inspired, and obeyed it without reserve, without hesitation or delay, though they saw they were marching to sure death.

She declared they were made better by this spirit. "The persons who had received the inspirations said they renounced at once all kinds of licentiousness and vanity. Some who had been debauchees became, at first, chaste and pious; and all those who visited them became, also, more upright, and led an exemplary life. This spirit gave us a horror of idolatry, contempt for the world, charity, inward consolation, hope, joy of the heart, and without alloy."²

The leaders of the Camisards were declared by the spirit. They believed they were filled with it; and this will account for their courage, their triumphs, their constancy in the greatest extremities. Was it necessary to assemble the scattered bands, to fix upon a point of attack, to choose a day of combat, retire,

¹ *Lettres pastor.* t. III. p. 60.

² *Théâtre sacré des Cévennes.*

advance, detect traitors and spies, to spare prisoners or put them to death, they interrogated the spirit;—everywhere, and in all circumstances, they thought they marched under the immediate and sovereign direction of heaven.

One of these Camisards, Elias Marion, relates it with simplicity in the *Sacred theatre of the Cévennes*: “We had neither power nor counsel, but our inspirations were our succor and support. It is these which selected our chiefs, and guided them; it was our military discipline. It is this which raised us up from our weakness itself, and put a strong check on an army of more than twenty thousand disciplined men. It is this which banished sadness from our hearts in the midst of the greatest dangers, as well as in the deserts and the caves of the rocks, when cold and hunger pressed upon us. Our heaviest crosses were but light burdens, because this intimate communion which God permitted us to have with him, relieved and consoled us; it was our surety and our happiness.”¹

What determines the judgments of men—the most enlightened as well as the most ignorant? These inspirations, these inward voices recall, trait for trait, the language and history of Joan of Arc. The religious phenomena are exactly the same. But Joan of Arc delivered France, and the Cévenols were vanquished. The one is almost deified, the others are generally treated as maniacs and fanatics. If the English had triumphed in the fifteenth century, the shepherdess of Vaucouleurs would also be for historians but a poor peasant, misled by silly hallucinations.

Roland and Cavalier were the two principal chiefs of the Cévenols: the first, more convinced, more firm, more inaccessible to seductions, the one who remained to the end with arms in

¹ P. 80, et seq.

his hand, the true type of the Camisards, although he has obtained less celebrity; the second, more skilful, more bold, more brilliant, brave among the brave, the hero of the martial *épopée*. Both relied, like Oliver Cromwell, on the authority of inspiration, and never were military commandants better obeyed.

The soldiers called themselves children of God, people of God, flock of the Eternal, and gave to their chiefs the names of brother Roland, brother Cavalier. It was equality, fraternity, united with the strictest discipline.

They practised bloody and cruel retaliations against their persecutors, priests, or soldiers; but the spirit they interrogated caused them habitually to release prisoners from whom they had received no harm. They punished very severely those who needlessly committed murders or acts of depredation. There were no quarrels, swearing, or intoxication among them. All their supplies were in common. Their enemies have accused them of leading a licentious life, because there were females in their camp;—they were the wives, the mothers, the daughters of the Camisards, who came to prepare their food and take care of the wounded.

They had caverns for magazines and hospitals. They clothed themselves with the spoils of the soldiers of the royal army, and made balls from the bells of the churches and the utensils of the curial-houses. They had no money but what was furnished them by villagers almost as poor as themselves, or which they picked up on battle-fields; but they got along without it.

Every band had its preacher, and, like the Puritans of England, they consecrated long hours to their religious exercises. “Although, during the week, the camp was often called to common prayer, Sunday was, however, the day of the Lord, dedicated to public assemblies and general prayers. Two days previous, the prophets informed the neighboring boroughs of the place of meeting. At dawn of day the people arrived, and min-

gled with the children of God. A prophet mounted a rock, which served for a pulpit; a second orator succeeded him, then a third, and, with homily upon homily, prayer, song upon song, this insatiable multitude unconsciously wore out the day. Then the people retraced their steps to their boroughs, and the Camisards to their camp."¹

Their number was never above ten thousand. But they maintained secret understandings with all the population of the new converts. The herdsmen and husbandmen employed signs agreed upon to warn them of the approach of the troops, and when they were obliged to flee, the Camisards found secure retreats. It was a guerilla warfare, with surprises or encounters of a few hundred men on either side. Victors, they profited by success in holding assemblies, at which all the Huguenots of the neighborhood were present; vanquished, they fled back into impenetrable gorges. They received the first fire on their knees, chanting the sixty-eighth Psalm: *Let God arise*, etc.; then, rushing upon the enemy, they fought with the fury of despair, well knowing that they would have neither quarter nor mercy, and preferring the soldier's death to the punishment of the gallows or the wheel.

The war of the Camisards lasted from 1702 to 1704. The Count de Broglie, brother-in-law of Bâville, and lieutenant-general of the king in the Languedoc, ordered horrible devastations, without being able to extinguish the revolt. On account of his failure, he was recalled in 1703, and the court substituted the Marshal de Montrevel, a brave soldier, but ignorant and presumptuous, flattering himself that he would end the insurrections by the terror of his executions.

¹ M. N. Peyrat, *Hist. des pasteurs du Désert*, t. II. pp. 513, 514. The author has collected with care, and related in a lively and interesting manner, the principal facts of the war of the Cévenols.

Louis XIV. was deceived about this war, as he had been about the conversion of the Protestants. Those who had promised that the revocation should cost not a drop of blood, feared to make known to him the greatness of the evil. Montrevel was sent into the Languedoc by means of a subterfuge: the young Duke du Maine, who had been schooled beforehand, had asked, as a mark of honor, that a Marshal of France should be sent to command the troops in the province of which he was governor. Madame de Maintenon remarked on this subject: "It is useless for the king to take any trouble about the circumstances of this war; it would not mend the evil, and it would give him a great deal of anxiety." And a Secretary of State wrote to the intendant of the province: "Be careful not to give this the appearance of a serious war."

Scarcely had he arrived in Languedoc, when the Marshal de Montrevel published two ordinances, in which sentence of death was pronounced not only against those who should take up arms, but also those who should furnish them with supplies, retreats, or any assistance whatever. He announced that, for every Catholic killed, there should be hanged two or three Protestants, and that the villages of the new converts, in which a priest or a soldier perished, should be immediately burned.

Massacres were innumerable. Gibbets, scaffolds, even funeral piles, were in constant use. All the suspected were arrested. Entire populations were imprisoned. The kinsmen of the rebels were seized for punishment; the notables of every place to serve as hostages; the young men, lest they should swell the number of the Camisards; and when the prisoners were too numerous, the executioner made way with them.

The Catholics had notice to retire into the towns, and the country was ruthlessly devastated. As the work of destruction did not go on fast enough with the musket, the sabre, and the axe,

Montrevel set fire to the dwellings of the peasants. The country, so flourishing before the revocation, became a vast and mournful desert.

On the 1st of April, 1703, Palm-Sunday, about three hundred persons were assembled in a mill near Nismes, to celebrate their religious services. Montrevel was informed of it; he rose from the table, took a troop of soldiers, rushed to the place of meeting, ordered the doors to be broken open, and the whole company to be butchered. But the slowness of the carnage inflaming his fury, he set the mill on fire. All, all perished, except a young girl, who had been saved by the humanity of a servant of the marshal. She was hanged the next day, and her liberator would have shared her fate, but for the intercession of several nuns.

In relating this atrocious butchery, the Bishop Fléchier says, with the greatest *sang-froid*: "This lesson was necessary, to humble the arrogance of this people." Priests and nobles, you complain of the executions of '93, and you are right; but you had set the example, and the cruelties of the men of the Reign of Terror never surpassed yours.

Besides the regular troops, Montrevel formed companies of Catholic volunteers, under the name of Cadets of the Cross, or White Camisards, in opposition to the Huguenots, whom they called Black Camisards. These new crusaders were encouraged by a bull of Clement XI., who granted them general and absolute remission of their sins, on condition they should exterminate the heretics of the Cevennes—a *curse* race, *sprung from the execrable stock of the Albigenses*.

But these Cadets of the Cross were soon disbanded by their own party. They were plunderers, without discipline, and, respecting not even the Church of which they called themselves the defenders, they fell indiscriminately on Cath-

olics and Huguenots, if they had any thing to be robbed of.

Far from conquering by his system of terror, Montrevel only augmented the number of his enemies. The Cévenols, reduced to despair, with nothing more to lose, and as harshly treated when they remained at home as when they took up arms, rushed *en masse* into the ranks of the Camisards. The detachments of Montrevel were cut to pieces one after another, in the winter of 1703 and 1704, at Nages, among the rocks of Aubais, at Martignargues, at the bridge of Salindres, and the marshal was recalled.

At Versailles there began to be serious apprehensions about this war. Holland and England had placed themselves in communication with the insurgents, and promised to send them aid. If a foreign fleet had appeared on the coasts of the southern provinces, it would have decided the general revolt of the Protestants of the Languedoc, the Vivarais, the Dauphiny, and the Guyenne, to throw into the heart of the kingdom fifty thousand warriors, and to give a terrible blow to the already falling fortunes of Louis XIV. The court understood it, and the Marshal de Villars, sent in the place of Montrevel, was ordered to use mild treatment.

Soon after, a few chiefs of the Camisards, having met with great losses, were disposed to enter into a negotiation. They demanded, as a first condition, liberty of conscience and of worship; but Villars replied only by equivocal phrases. The Protestant historians say that the marshal accepted the condition; the Catholics, Fléchier at the head, deny it. It is difficult to unravel the truth in these contradictory statements.

But it is beyond dispute that, during the negotiations between the Duke de Villars and Cavalier, the Camisards held public assemblies at Calvisson, chanting psalms, praying,

preaching in the midst of an innumerable concourse of Protestants.

The interview of the marshal with the former baker-boy took place in the garden of the Récolets, at the gates of Nismes, the 16th of May, 1704. "He is," wrote Villars to the minister of war, "a peasant of the lowest order, only twenty-two years old, and looking eighteen, small, and far from having an imposing figure, but gifted with superior firmness and judgment. He has good arrangements for his supplies, and disposes his troops as well as thoroughly trained officers could do it. From the moment that Cavalier began to negotiate to the very end, he always acted in good faith."

Cavalier got the brevet of colonel, went to Versailles, where he was coldly received, and, suspecting he was not safe, he took service in foreign armies. He died governor of the Isle of Jersey, with the reputation of a good general and an upright man.

The other chief of the Camisards, Roland, desired to continue the struggle. To all proposals, he answered: "I will not throw myself into the jaws of the lion." But a traitor betrayed him for a hundred louis, to the intendant, and, after a desperate resistance, he fell. Some of his lieutenants still attempted to rekindle this half-smothered conflagration. Till 1715 bold adventurers tried to agitate the Cevennes; but their attempts, although courageous, were without *éclat*.

Such was the end of the Protestant Vendée. It had striking analogies with the Catholic Vendée. On both sides conscience oppressed and religion trampled under foot, drove the people to arms. Cathelineau, the wagoner, was the chief of the Vendéens, as the baker-boy, Cavalier, was that of the Cévenols. Marshal de Villars and General Hoche both succeeded in quelling the revolt by moderation alone. But the Vendéens had in their camp the noblesse and the clergy; the Camisards had with them

neither noblemen nor pastors. In defending the great principle of religious liberty, the former defended, although unconsciously, the privileges of the aristocracy. The latter fought for religious liberty alone and it was not in vain that they poured out their blood.

The war of the Camisards, on which different opinions may be expressed, which we will not here examine, had this two-fold result of reassuring the Protestants, who almost all returned to their former worship, and of inspiring at the court of Versailles salutary apprehensions. The men, whom justice and regard for conscience could not arrest, feared, throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, to drive to despair the intrepid mountaineers who had once risen so fiercely to brave the axe of the executioner.

V.

There is nothing more mournful to contemplate than the close of the reign of Louis XIV. This aged monarch surviving almost alone all the great men of his time; the irreparable void left in his court by the death of his children and his grandchildren; a disastrous war opening the frontiers of the realm to the enemy; three thousand millions of debts; the people overburdened with taxes, which they could no longer pay; commerce destroyed, industry crushed, a part of the country uncultivated; the monarch hated by the nation of which he had been the idol, spending his days in the observance of a puerile etiquette, or of a devotion more puerile still, and staggering feebly under the weight of a royalty whose prestige departed with him—what an expiation for his despotic and insatiable pride!

Religious quarrels tormented him without intermission or repose. His court, his council, were divided on the controversies

of Jansenism and Quietism. When he thought he had appeased them on one side, they arose on the other, and his bed of death was still disturbed by the disputes of the theologians on the bull *Unigenitus*.

The Protestants were rarely alluded to before him, and then with reluctance; and he also avoided the same subject. The attempt had failed, and, from his humiliating miscalculations, he tried to find a refuge in forgetfulness.

The Protestants of Paris were more and more mildly treated, to spare Louis XIV. painful reflections. The celebrated lieutenant of police, Voyer d'Argenson, had expressly recommended mildness. "The Inquisition they wish to establish in Paris against the Protestants, whose conversion is doubtful," said he, in a memorial addressed to the council, "would be attended with great inconveniences. It would compel them to purchase certificates, either with money or by sacrilege. It would drive away from this city those who are born subjects of neutral princes, more and more inflame Protestant enemies, embroil families, excite relatives to denounce one another, and cause, perhaps, a general dissatisfaction in the metropolis." The council understood the warning, and kept their eyes shut.

In the provinces, all depended on the fluctuations of the temper of the governors and intendants. Bâville renewed from time to time his sanguinary expeditions, but he could no more conceal from himself their hopelessness. "There are some districts of twenty and thirty parishes," wrote he, "where the curate is the most unfortunate and useless of all the inhabitants, and where, with all his pains, he could neither succeed in making a single Catholic, nor even in getting one to settle there."

The Protestants performed their civil duties, as soldiers, sailors, and tax-payers, without enjoying the privilege of common law. Noblemen served in the army, where there was more concilia-

tion than elsewhere for acts of Catholicity. The common *bourgeoisie* pursued agriculture and trade. They prospered, in spite of the oppression of the laws, by that spirit of individualism and activity which so eminently distinguishes Protestantism. The Marquis d'Aguesseau made the declaration, when new measures of severity were proposed against them in 1713: "By an unfortunate fatality, in almost every department of the arts, the most skilful workmen, as well as the richest merchants, belong to the pretended Reformed religion; it will, therefore, be very dangerous to require them to become Catholics."

They would probably have allowed things to pass under this semi-tolerance, but the Jesuit Letellier, who had succeeded Père La Chaise, in 1709, in the office of confessor of the king, would not permit it. "He was," says the Duke de Saint-Simon, "unyielding in his temper, obstinate, of incessant application, with no passion but for the domination of his society, and the ruin of every other school. His disposition was cruel and savage; his exterior promised nothing less; he would have frightened one who met him in a forest. His physiognomy was gloomy, false, terrible; his eyes flaming, villanous; extremely cross-eyed: one was startled on looking at him."¹

Letellier extorted from the king, who was verging on decrepitude and death, the declaration of the 8th of March, 1715.

The very title of this law, to use the words of Baron de Breteuil to Louis XVI., makes one shudder. Here it is: "The law directs that those who have declared that they will persist and die in the pretended Reformed religion, whether they had made abjuration or not, *shall be considered as relapsed heretics*." A monstrous fiction, then, declared that there were no more Protestants in France, and never could be! All were considered

¹ T. VII. p. 18, et seq.

lawful Catholics, while the refusal of the sacraments exposed them to the suffering of the horrible penalties pronounced against the relapsed! "The annals of the world," says M. Lemontey, truly, in his work on the monarchical establishment of Louis XIV., "offer no other example of a code founded entirely upon a lie."¹

The authors of the declaration gave out in their defence the following reason: "The sojourn which those who have been of the pretended Reformed religion, or who were born of Protestant parents, have made in our kingdom, since we have abolished the worship of the said religion, is a sufficient proof that they have embraced the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, *without which they would neither have been suffered nor tolerated.*" Neither suffered nor tolerated! Had the law ordained the butchery of all the refractory to the very last? No. Or, again, had it banished all from the kingdom? No; on the contrary, it had forbidden them to emigrate, and this interdiction had even been renewed two years before. Thus, on the one hand they forbade them to leave France, and on the other, because they remained it was concluded that they had become Catholics!

The Parliament of Paris, so complaisant until now towards the laws of intolerance, delayed for a month the enregistering of the declaration of 1715. "The king," said the procurator-general, "has really abolished the exercise of the pretended Reformed religion by his edicts, but he has not definitely ordered the Protestants to make abjuration and to embrace the Catholic religion. It will always be difficult to comprehend how a man who seems never to have been converted may yet have *fallen back* into heresy, and that he could be condemned as if the fact were proved."

¹ P. 412.

Five months after Louis XIV. died, declaring to the Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissey, and to Father Letellier, that he was perfectly ignorant about the affairs of the Church, that he had done all they had wished, and he held them responsible before God. At this last hour, when pride is silent, when illusions vanish, did not great sins and bitter remorse stare him in the face?

Under the regency of Philip of Orleans, who detested the Jesuits, and expelled Letellier from the court, the Protestants took again some hope. They were still more encouraged when the regent allied himself with the Protestant powers against Spain. Far from being blinded by bigotry, this prince was lacking even in religious conviction. In the absence of a higher and more laudable principle, his indifference disposed him to listen favorably to the complaints of the Protestants.

In fact, he questioned with himself whether he should not change the Edict of Revocation. But, besides his dissolute life, which prevented him from giving much attention to serious affairs, two motives dissuaded him from his project. First, the fear of irritating the great majority of the clergy; second, the recollection of the ancient wars of religion. The Duke de Saint-Simon had represented to him the return of these wars as probable, if he abolished the ordinances of Louis XIV. It was at once a gross anachronism and absurdity; for the Protestants would have been the more peaceable if the free exercise of their religion had been better guaranteed; but the Duke of Orleans, who knew nothing about these matters, and cared nothing, judged it best to leave these ecclesiastical laws as they were.

They indulged, however, the idea of founding at Douay a colony of refugees, who, secure of a free worship, would enrich the State by their industry. The counsel of the interior inclined to it, but the ecclesiastic counsel refused, and the regent said no more. There would have been too much inconsistency, in fact,

in authorizing the exercise of the Protestant religion at one point of the kingdom, and interdicting it everywhere else.

To the numerous petitions of the Protestants the Duke of Orleans replied, that he hoped to find in their good conduct occasion for adopting mild measures in conformity with prudence. Many who had been sent to the galleys for religion's sake were liberated; emigration from the kingdom was allowed; and the intendants of Dauphiny, Guyenne, and Languedoc, who wished to continue the system of dragoonades, were ordered to be more moderate. There was not yet toleration; but persecution began to yield.

VI.

These disastrous times, as we have already seen, had produced great disorders in the Reformed communion. There were no pastors nor regular teachings. The preachers who travelled through the Vivarais and the Cevennes had more zeal than knowledge, more fervor than judgment. The supernatural inspiration or ecstasy, which had begun before the war of the Camisards, did not cease with it. Men and women arose in the assemblies and uttered passionate words, which inflamed without illuminating their hearers. We should remark, that at the same time the Jansenists had their *convulsionnaires* and their *wonder-workers*. In the first ages of the Church, the grave errors of the Montanists and Donatists had likewise sprung from persecution. Every oppressed communion has its fanatics.

Protestants of some intelligence or a timidity of character did not attend these preachers: they confined themselves to domestic worship, and observed outwardly some form of Catholicism. There was, therefore, for the French Reformation a two-

fold cause of ruin : the excesses of the fervent, and the concessions of the weak. It was necessary to remedy this, or all was lost : it was necessary to awake a piety at once vital and sober ; to strengthen the ties of discipline ; to increase, to multiply the assemblies while correcting them, and to re-establish order in the churches. Such was the great mission of Antoine Court.¹

Born at Villeneuve-de-Berg, in the Vivarais, in 1696, he performed, from the age of seventeen years, the office of reader and preacher in the assemblies of the Desert. As he belonged to a poor family, he had not received a classical education ; but he made up for this by his natural abilities, habits of reflection, and acquaintance with the Scriptures. Antoine Court acquired extensive and well-digested knowledge : even late in life he became very learned in religious questions and the history of Protestantism ; the proof is to be found in his reply to the Bishop of Agen, published under the title of *Patriote français et impartial*.

A man who has distinguished himself for his constant sympathies towards the Reformed churches of France, M. de Végobre, has drawn the following portrait of Antoine Court : “ A correct and steady judgment ; a wonderful facility of expression in speaking and writing ; intrepid courage, with consummate prudence in all his conduct ; an astonishing power of endurance, without remissness or dejection, under the greatest physical and intellectual labors ; the most agreeable amenity in his private

¹ The reader who would have more ample information on this period, may profitably consult the work of M. Charles Coquerel, entitled : *Histoire des Eglises du Désert*, in two volumes, 8vo. M. Coquerel has had in his possession the most important documents, and has made a judicious use of them. We shall often have recourse to his work in the remainder of this history. The *Histoire de l'Eglise chrétienne réformée de Nièmes*, by M. the Pastor Bovrel, may also be consulted : a complete treatise, which, under a special title, contains many things of general interest.

intercourse, if we judge by his familiar letters ; purity of motive and integrity of character, always above suspicion, and an unwavering devotion to the noble cause to which he had consecrated himself—these are the qualities which, supplying the deficiencies of an imperfect literary training, qualified him to become a popular leader, and to merit the name of *restaurateur du Protestantisme en France*.”¹

Four conditions appeared to him necessary for the reorganization of the churches : regular religious assemblies ; a direct and determined struggle against the disorders of the *inspired* ; the re-establishment of discipline by means of consistories, conferences, and synods ; and, last, the organization of a body of pastors. A vast and judicious plan, but whose execution was attended with great difficulties.

Antoine Court at first formed religious assemblies wherever he could find shelter for his head. They were few in number at the beginning. “It was a great deal,” said he, in an apologetic memoir written forty years after, “when, by dint of hard work and solicitations, I could induce in one place six, ten, a dozen persons, to follow me into a cavern, into some out-of-the-way barn or open field, to render their homage to God and listen to my discourses. What a consolation was it for me to find, in 1744, in some assemblies ten thousand souls in the same place, where scarcely, in the first assemblies of my ministry, I was able to gather fifteen, thirty, sixty, or at the most a hundred persons !”

After putting a check to fanatic inspirations, he convoked the preachers of the Cevennes, with whom he associated several enlightened laymen. The first of these colloquies or synods took place the 21st of August, 1715, eleven days before the death of

¹ *Mélanges de relig. et de morale*, t. V. p. 181.

the king, who believed he had accomplished the ruin of the French Reformation. Other synods followed almost every year. They were held in caverns or isolated cabins ; for if discovered, all the members, or at least the preachers, would have perished under the severest torture.

Antoine Court, in spite of his youth, was the guide and soul of these assemblies, and the adhesion of the preachers proves that they were at heart free from unbelief and pride, and had erred involuntarily, or from lack of instruction. They only wanted to be better counselled and directed.

The following are some of the provisions adopted in these new synods : The elders were to be charged with watching over the flocks, convoking assemblies in convenient places, providing for the safety of the pastors, and making collections for prisoners and the poor. Women were forbidden to speak in the meetings of the faithful. The Scriptures were to be held as the only rule of faith, and special revelations were to be rejected, as anti-Biblical and dangerous, (synod of 1715.)

Fathers of families were exhorted to celebrate domestic worship three times a day, and to consecrate at least two hours to the devotions of the Sabbath. Those who committed grave misdemeanors were to be censured publicly, after three private admonitions. The pastors were recommended to explain with care all the articles of the religion, to inform themselves in every place of the most common vices, in order to remedy them, and to meet every six months to exchange mutual counsels. If any pastor gave offence to his brethren, or precipitated them into danger by his reckless zeal, he was to be immediately deprived of his charge. The engagement was entered into to succor those who should suffer for the sake of religion, but to lend no assistance to any one whatever who should expose himself by his temerity, (synods of 1716 and 1717.)

Of the first six signers of these rules, four were put to death under the severest torture: there is blood on every new page of French Protestantism.

Antoine Court had not yet received the pastoral consecration. He engaged one of his working companions, Pierre Corteis, to undertake a journey to Switzerland to be consecrated. The latter, on his return to Languedoc, laid his hands on Antoine Court, in presence of the synod. The severed links were thus reunited, and the sacraments were no longer administered, except by ministers ordained according to the rules of discipline.

In 1718, a synod, composed of forty-five members, ministers and elders, decided that young men should not be admitted to the pastoral office till after a serious examination of their doctrine and morals. Two years after, they fixed the stipends of the pastors at seventy livres *for their dress and their entire support*. They were maintained from house to house by the faithful. Their salary was afterwards six hundred livres, and nine hundred towards the end of the century. It was scarcely more than the wages of a day-laborer; but they had no need of attracting, by the enticement of money, men who, in accepting the pastoral office, devoted themselves in advance to martyrdom.

The churches were invited to establish consistories, in default of which they should not be visited by the ministers, nor notified of the convocation of the assemblies—a spiritual penalty for a spiritual offence. This was a return to true ecclesiastical order.

The Assemblies of the Desert, as they called them, were held in the day-time when the danger was not too great, at night when the persecutions were severe, in wild spots, or caverns, and quarries during the inclement season. The convocations were made but a few hours in advance, and by the most trustworthy emissaries. Sentinels were placed on the heights, but without arms, to signal the approach of the soldiery.

The most intelligent and courageous served as guides for the pastors, and after the service, conducted them into unknown retreats. A pastor seldom remained many days in succession in the same asylum. Wandering from place to place, forced to assume a thousand disguises, bearing a borrowed name, they were obliged, in order to preach the God of the Gospel, to conceal themselves with as much care as malefactors. Such, also, was the life of the Catholic priests under the régime of 1793: names of the persecutors change, not the spirit, nor the excesses of persecution.

The worship of the Desert was the same as in the time of freedom—liturgical prayers, chanting of psalms, preaching, administration of the Lord's Supper on feast days; simple worship, easily performed everywhere, and which demanded no more preparations than that of the upper chamber where the apostles and first Christians of Jerusalem assembled.

This simplicity had, moreover, something noble and grand in it. The calm of the solitude interrupted suddenly by the voice of prayer; the chants of the faithful ascending to the invisible Being in the presence of nature's splendors; the minister of Jesus Christ invoking his God, like the faithful of the primitive church, for the oppressors who were enraged that they had not yet dragged him to the scaffold; poor peasants, humble workmen, who, laying aside for a day their implements of toil, were more anxious for the sublime interests of faith and the life to come; the common apprehension of danger which continually kept their souls in the presence of their sovereign Judge—all gave to the Assemblies of the Desert that imposing majesty which harmonizes so well with the teachings of Christianity.

But while the French Reformation was slowly rising from its ruins, a new blow was preparing in the dark, and it was soon to fall.

VII.

We speak of the last important law against the Protestants, published the 14th of May, 1724, under the form of a royal declaration. It was never executed to the letter, but was often applied ; and as it remained officially in force for sixty-three years, till the edict of toleration of Louis XVI., we should be acquainted with its origin, spirit, and principal articles.

The first compiler of this law was Lavergne de Tressan, bishop of Nantes, almoner of the Duke of Orleans, and worthy acolyte of the Cardinal Dubois, whom he had consecrated. Destitute of religion and morals, and having, in his grasping cupidity, got possession of seventy-six benefices, he solicited the Roman purple, and thought he would merit the honor by crushing the heretics. Lavergne de Tressan presented his project to Dubois and to the regent, who repulsed him ; but he was more successful with the Duke de Bourbon, who had become prime minister, on the majority of Louis XV. The Duke de Bourbon was a haughty and hard-hearted man, of mean appearance, wanting at once convictions and intelligence, governed by a profligate mistress, and who only made merciless laws. He ordered, among other things, that all mendicants should be branded with a hot iron.

Several magistrates, it is said, also participated in drawing up the declaration of 1724 ; but they brought to it sentiments little favorable to clerical domination, as the sequel showed.

The edict contained eighteen articles. It was a compilation of the most severe ordinances brought against the Protestants under the reign of Louis XIV., with aggravation of the penalty in several particulars. They took the odious fiction that there were no more Protestants in France, and in the preamble they

made young Louis XV., then fourteen years of age, say that he had no greater desire than to follow the grand designs of his most honored lord and great-grandfather, and that he anxiously desired to carry out his intentions efficiently.

For these causes, he declared what follows : Sentence to perpetual galleys for men, and confinement for life for women, with confiscation of property, if they attended any other worship than that of the Catholic religion. Sentence of death against preachers. Sentence to the galleys or confinement for those who should give them an asylum, or any aid whatever, and against those who should neglect to denounce them. Command to parents to have their children baptized by the curate of the parish within twenty-four hours, to send them to the Catholic schools and catechisms till the age of fourteen, and to the instructions of the Sundays and festival days, till the age of twenty. Order to the midwives to announce to the priests the births, and to the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, to warn them of the serious illness of new converts, and authorization for the priests to converse with the sick in private. If any one refused the sacraments, or induced one of his friends to refuse them, he incurred the penalty of the relapsed. No marriage was legitimate which was not celebrated according to the canons of the Church. Parents could neither have their children brought up out of the realm, nor permit them to marry there. Minors, on the contrary, whose parents were not in the kingdom, could marry without their consent. Certificates of Catholicity were declared obligatory for all offices, all academical degrees, all admissions into the corporations of trades. Finally, fines and confiscated property were to serve for the maintenance of converted subjects who were in need.

Never, since the origin of human society, had a lawgiver more insolently denied natural right, civil right, family, property, liberty, and sanctity of personal faith. This declaration

proved once more that they were driven to monstrous acts, when, by the confusion of spiritual with temporal power, they made the laws of the State subservient to the maxims of the Catholic Church.

Historians express only sentiments of horror at the edict of 1724. "It was seen with amazement, in this incredulous age," says M. de Sismondi, "when the power was in the hands of a prince without faith or honesty, and of a courtesan without shame, the renewal of a persecution which the rigid faith of Louis XIV. could scarcely account for. . . . The clergy, who had not dared to ask for this untimely law, received it with transport."¹

M. Charles Lacretelle says, also: "The first act of the government was absurd and odious. It was an edict against the Protestants still more cruel than the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They forbid in it even the most secret exercise of the Reformed religion. They tore children from their fathers to educate them in the Catholic religion. . . . In fine, they renewed all kinds of oppression which the ministers of Louis XIV. had conceived, and which public horror had begun to make obsolete. The Marchioness de Prie, whose infidelity equalled that of Cardinal Dubois, succeeded in persuading her lover (the Duke de Bourbon) that he was carrying out the great principles of statesmanship in commencing a new persecution. Everybody revolted at the efforts which crime made to borrow the appearance of zeal. This barbarous absurdity made the people long again for the toleration of the regent."²

Rulhières and the Baron de Breteuil affirm that the council adopted the edict only because they were deceived. They prove that this compilation had strangely confounded laws emanating from two very different tendencies. The Molinist or Jesuit

¹ T. XXVII. p. 514.

² *Hist. de France pendant le dix-huitième siècle*, t. II. p. 7.

spirit had desired to employ universally external constraint, but relaxing the internal conditions of Catholicity. The Jansenist spirit had exacted, on the contrary, severe terms of Catholicity, but it was yielding in constraint. Thus one of two things: either the employment of material force with a simple appearance of reunion to Catholicism, or a true reunion without the employment of force. Now, in the declaration of 1724, it was exacted at the same time that all should be Catholics under pain of the galleys and of death, and that all should perform the acts which good Catholics only are in a condition to do. This was impracticable, impossible even to absurdity.

We should notice here the great change which was manifested in the conduct of most of the priests. The night before, and the day of the revocation, as we have related elsewhere, they held their arms wide open. They seemed to say to the Protestants: Come, come all, as you are. We will be satisfied with the most vague, the most general abjuration. We will not trouble you in the matter of spiritual jurisdiction. If you but bear the name of Catholics, and observe the principal ceremonies of the Church—it is enough..

But some time after, their language, their conduct became sensibly modified, and exigencies increased from year to year, especially when the law had declared that there were no more Protestants in the kingdom. Be cautious, said the priests, then: we cannot administer the sacraments to false brethren; this would be an abominable profanation. We must have long and severe proofs, instructions for six months, a year, two years, solemn oaths, a complete certainty, in a word, that you are true and faithful Catholics. Otherwise we will not celebrate your marriages nor give you certificates of Catholicity, and you may yourselves look out for the maintenance of your civil rights as best you can.

This change, continually growing more perceptible, explains itself naturally by the bitter disappointments the priests had experienced since the revocation. They had hoped that the destruction of the temples, the banishment of the pastors, the privation of all regular instruction, the need of a religion, the legal duty of performing acts of Catholicity, would secure to the Church true believers, at least in the second generation. But they were foiled in their expectation and hope, especially with the people of the country and the trades. Children and grandchildren detested the Catholic Church as badly as their fathers. The curates were to them only objects of aversion and disdain.

Tired of so sad a task, they resolved to administer the sacraments only to those well known to be faithful, and they were perfectly right. But they would have been obliged then to disavow, repel the intervention of physical constraint, and they did not do it. They persisted in demanding severity, as if they were satisfied with appearances; and in requiring positive proofs of religion, as if they used no more severity! Enormous and detestable contradiction, if there ever was one!¹

Moreover, on arriving at this degree of inconsistency, the clergy encountered the magistracy; and this is a new phase of the same question which we should fully comprehend, for the entire sequel of our history is implicated in it till 1787.

The counsellors of the parliaments, and the magistrates generally, showed severity towards the Protestants; but they always intended that the priests should administer the sacraments without exacting too much proof. Their decrees, after the close of the reign of Louis XIV., could be interpreted in the following

¹ After having read the correspondence of the intendants, M. Lemontey asserts, in his *Essai sur l'établissement monarchique de Louis XIV.*, that certain curates required of the heretics, before consecrating their marriages, "that they should curse their deceased parents, and swear that they believed in their eternal damnation." (T. II. p. 157.)

manner: We command, absolutely, that you have your marriages consecrated by the priest, and that you offer your children for Catholic baptism; if not, you shall have no registry preserved, your marriages shall be unlawful, and your children illegitimate: in certain cases you shall even be stripped of your property and condemned to the galleys. But don't be afraid—we require of you only mere formalities. It is understood that the clergy will exact nothing else, and we will maintain a strict observance of it.

Encouraged by these maxims, the Protestants availed themselves of them to accord to the priests as little as possible. But the latter replied: What matters to us the opinion of the civil judges? The clergy have the sole right of deciding in the matter of sacraments. No human power can make us administer them to those whom we consider unworthy. Attend mass and our instructions for years; confess regularly; show us, in a word, that you are true Catholics, and you shall have part in the graces of the Church; if not, no!

Strange spectacle! The judge insisted on the execution of the laws, because he interpreted them in one sense, and the priest applied them in another. The first cared only for civil unity; the second desired, above all, spiritual unity. The one forced the Protestants to be Catholics *externally*; the others secured a sentence to compel them to be Catholics *at heart*. To this extremity they had come by the edicts which no longer corresponded to the general conscience of the age.

There were among the Catholics themselves, it is well known, similar conflicts in the matter of the sacraments refused to the Jansenists, and for certificates of confession. The problem could be definitively solved only by mutual independence, which in our times is declared in all our constitutions for civil and religious government.

In a memorial addressed to Louis XVI., the Baron de Breteuil exposed the inextricable embarrassments in which they had been involved in respect to the Protestants: "On the one hand," said he, "the indispensable necessity of a certificate of Catholicity; on the other, a scrupulous and arbitrary examination before granting this certificate. From these confused ideas, from all these incoherent and contradictory provisions, could there result any thing but impracticable laws? These unfortunate people, equally rejected from our courts under one name, and repelled from our churches under another, unrecognized either as Calvinists or converts, unable to obey laws which destroyed one another, and consequently deprived of all means of gaining admittance either before a priest or before a judge, the certificate of their births, their marriages, and their burials, consider themselves in some sense cut off from the human race."¹

The illustrious Chancellor d'Aguesseau had perfectly stated the dilemma: "The Church should relax its severity by some concessions; or if it consider this wrong, it must cease asking the king to use his authority to reduce his subjects to an impossibility, by commanding them to fulfil a religious obligation which the Church does not permit them to discharge."

Thus the declaration of 1724, though producing at various times frightful calamities, was never fully executed. It contained, besides, dispositions which revolted the most sacred feelings of human nature, justice, and human society. To punish with the galleys and confiscation of property a son or daughter who administered pious exhortations to a dying father; to inflict the same penalty on him who should not denounce his pastor, or who opened to him the door of his house; to fine the physician who refused to become an infamous spy; all this, as M. de Sis-

¹ P. 85 and 108.

mondi observes, was stamped with so savage a fanaticism, one doubts whether the code of any people ever approached it. If in the eighteenth century such atrocious laws could be enacted, neither judges nor administrators could be found to execute them to the letter.

To atrocity was added, as usual, the ridiculous. Some priests had the roll of children called in the church, as sergeants in a review, to mark the absent, and fine their parents. But the children often refused to reply, mocked the curate, disturbed the mass, and interrupted his discourse. What should be done? How punish? Could they send to the galleys an entire population—fathers, mothers, and children?

Cardinal Fleury, who governed the kingdom after the Duke de Bourbon, seems to have understood these embarrassments. Having gone in his youth on a mission into Saintonge with Fenelon, and spent a great many years in Provence, he understood the unwavering firmness of the Protestants. Add to these lights of the priest the alliances of the prime minister with Great Britain and Holland, the mildness of his character, his anxiety to spare Louis XV. the cares of government, and his behavior towards the Protestants will be explained. He did not break the sword of intolerance, but left it willingly in its scabbard.

The curates of the Cevennes addressed him on this subject sharp remonstrances. They bitterly complained of the increasing desertion of the Huguenots. The old cardinal took little account of it: he had other affairs to manage, and he was more afraid of uproar than heresy.

There were, therefore, only local and momentary persecutions, according to the disposition of the intendants. Some meetings were surprised and dispersed by the soldiers, some families ruined, some unfortunate persons condemned to the galleys. The utmost cruelty was shown to the pastors, for they hoped that

the terror of executions would drive the rest from the kingdom.

Many were put to death. We will cite the minister, Alexander Roussel, hung at Montpellier, the 30th of November, 1728. A popular complaint, which has come down to us, was made on his martyrdom. Betrayed by a paid spy, he frankly avowed that he had preached in the Cevennes. When asked where he lived: "Heaven," said he, "is my covering." The Jesuits entreated him in vain to change his religion; he replied: "I will always obey the law of Jesus Christ; if I die for his name, I shall go with the angels." Dragged to the gibbet with the rope around his neck, bareheaded, barefooted, he sang the fifty-first Psalm, and died praying God for his judges and for the executioner.

Another pastor, Pierre Durand, who had signed, with Antoine Court, the first deliberations of the synods of the Desert, was also executed at Montpellier, the 22d of April, 1732. He was an old man, full of faith and zeal. He was attended to the scaffold by five priests, who wished at any cost to extort from him an abjuration. Pierre Durand remained firm to the end.

These executions filled the Protestants of the Desert with grief, without making them despond. The clergy themselves contributed by these harsh measures to drive them still further from the Church of Rome; for, finding they were no longer willing to content themselves with the simple forms of Catholicism, the Protestants resolved to renounce them completely. From this time the number of baptisms and marriages in the Desert increased, notwithstanding the civil disabilities with which they were weighed down.

Antoine Court fortified the faithful by his exhortations and example. He undertook, in 1728, a journey of nearly a hundred leagues, convoked thirty-two religious assemblies in two

months, and counted even three thousand auditors around his pulpits. The most timid began to grow firm.

The synods multiplied, and became more severe against parents who allowed their children to be baptized in the Catholic Church, or who permitted them to marry there. They also insisted on the obligation of attending religious worship. "The Protestants under the cross," said the synod of 1730, "will be written to, to make known to them the indispensable obligation of attending pious assemblies whenever Providence offers them an opportunity. If, after having been duly warned on the necessity of this duty, they decline to comply, they will be declared separated from the Church of the Lord, and no more his children."

It is interesting to observe that these men, who were refused all the rights of citizens, were so anxious to fulfil strictly the obligations of citizenship: they employed their authority to prevent smuggling. We see their decision in 1730: "The members of our churches who, to avoid paying the taxes due to the king, shall engage in or favor smuggling, shall first be censured, and if they return, be exposed to final excommunication. The assembly does not comprehend in this article the smuggling of religious books, which does no harm to the king or the State."

The awaking of Languedoc and Dauphiny inspired other provinces with pious emulation. Rouergue, Guyenne, Quercy, Saintonge, the district of Aunis, the Poitou, renewed their assemblies, and called for pastors. There were but few. Antoine Court sought behind the plough, in the store of the merchant, in the workshop of the mechanic, young men who appeared fit for this holy vocation; but the instruction which they would be able to gather in a wandering life would be insufficient.

The Restorer of French Protestantism then began to reflect on the necessity of establishing a School of Theology. It could not

be opened in France. The universities of England and Germany were too far from our southern provinces, and they did not speak our language. Geneva was too near, and its Academy too severely watched. Anthony Court decided upon Lausanne. His long and pressing solicitations, his indefatigable exertions, the liberalities of the Swiss, of Great Britain, and other Protestant powers, served to found a French Theological Seminary. Court went there himself, in 1730, to settle as Deputy-General of the Churches, and managed this school during the thirty last years of his life. From this school came all the Protestant pastors of France till the reign of Napoleon.

VIII.

Before relating the events which will lead us beyond the year 1750, it is but just to follow to their exile the refugee pastors, who had all departed this life during the first half of the eighteenth century. Although they died on foreign soil, the French Reformation has the right to claim them : they belong to it by birth, by education, by the first years of their ministry, by the language which they used, and by the constancy of their sympathies for their oppressed brethren.

We will not speak of the refugee laymen whose names were illustrious in literature, the sciences, and industry, such as the historian Rapin, Thoyras, the learned Bayle, the engineer Denis Papin, the chemist Lémery, the traveller Chardin, and many others. We must confine ourselves to those of the fugitives who exercised a more direct influence on the condition of the Reformed churches.

It is acknowledged that the mass of the refugee pastors was composed of pious, intelligent men, and of a conduct irreproach-

able. No Protestant clergy of Europe were superior to them. We will cite only the principal men, in following the date of their death.

Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) was a laborious and vehement controversialist. He had many adversaries among the Catholics and skeptics, and his name suffered by it. It must be avowed that he justified some attacks by his hazardous predictions, his affirmations on doubted miracles, and the fierceness of his polemics. But how many good qualities atoned for his rashness! a firm attachment to his belief, an incomparable activity, a solid erudition in all the branches of theological science, a mind clear and quick. He never lacked penetration to detect error, nor courage to combat it.

He exercised a short time only the office of pastor. Appointed in 1674 Professor of Theology at Sedan, he appeared there with much *éclat*. Bayle, who afterwards assailed him with so many invectives, then wrote: "He is one of the first men of the age; and if the delicacy of his constitution permitted him to indulge his passion for study, and his great application to the duties of his office, we should hope every thing of him. I say to you, and repeat it, he is the first man of our communion, both in soundness of judgment and delicacy of mind."

It is not well enough known that, being in Holland some years before the revocation, he was almost *the only champion*, as was said, against Arnauld, Bossuet, Nicole, and Maimbourg. The others, being still in France, did not dare to speak out. In the pulpit of Rotterdam, he recoiled from no truth, and his free and powerful voice often chastised the persecutors in the most severe and just manner.

It is not well enough known, either, that he became, after the fatal edict, the protector of a multitude of refugees; that he solicited and obtained for them the assistance of many sovereigns;

and that, while he secured to some the bread of hospitality, he comforted and encouraged, by his *Lettres pastorales*, others who still wept in their native land.

The list of Jurieu's writings is very extensive. He was still among his flock of Vitry-le-Français, when he composed a *Traité de la devotion*, which was reprinted seven times in a few years, and twenty-six times in the English translation. This work has caused regret that the author, absorbed in controversy, had not employed more time in writing books of mere edification.

His reply to Father Maimbourg: *Le Calvinisme et la Papisme mis en parallèle*, less *piquante* than the answer of Bayle, and less known, gained for him, however, great applause, and had multitudes of readers. "Your last work against Maimbourg," wrote Claude to him, "has, at last, fallen into my hands; and I have not read it, but I have devoured it, and I could not lay it down. Every good man here (in Paris) who has still some zeal and courage, is charmed with your book."

To the attacks of Nicole he replied by the *Vrai système de l'Eglise*, which competent judges declare to be his master-piece. Jurieu develops the doctrine of the Invisible Church in opposition to the visible society of Rome. He wrote, also, a *Critical History of Doctrines and Modes of Worship*, in which humanity is considered in its religious development. The illustrious defender of the Reformed faith did not lay down his pen till the day before he lay down in his sepulchre.

Pierre Allix (1641-1717) retired into England after the revocation. He was only thirty years of age when he was called to succeed Drelincourt and Daillé. His discourses were full, solid, and had a sobriety and a clearness of style, which made them equally acceptable to the educated and the ignorant. He had prepared a last sermon, upon the farewell of St. Paul to the

Ephesians, which he was to preach at Charenton; but the temple was closed a week earlier than he expected, by order of the king.

"The doctor Allix," said one of his biographers, "was loved and respected by all the *savants* of his time. Extremely zealous for the Protestant religion, he was always ready to take up its defence against the Roman Church. He passionately desired the union of the Protestants, especially the Lutherans with the Calvinists, and he consulted often upon it with the ministers of Geneva, Holland, and Berlin. He had a profound acquaintance with all the sciences. He was a thorough master of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic; and his vast reading and excellent memory made him, in some manner, a living library." Writers of great authority have considered him as the most learned of the ministers of Charenton.

At London, Pierre Allix received the title of honorary doctor of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. The Anglican clergy had so high an opinion of his capacity, that they commissioned him to write the History of the Councils, and even Parliament showed him special marks of consideration.

Jean La Placette (1639-1718) was surnamed the Nicole of the Protestants, on account of his numerous and judicious moral writings. He equalled the Jansenist doctor in knowledge of the human heart, and surpassed him in that of the Scriptures. His style is simple, correct, and, above all, sincere in the highest sense of the word.

La Placette was pastor of the French Church of Copenhagen for twenty-six years, (1685-1711.) He dedicated his *Nouveaux essais de morale* to the Queen of Denmark. "Our people," said he, in his preface, "know little of the extent of the purity which the Gospel exacts of us. They are even prejudiced by a great number of false maxims, far more pernicious than errors of pure

speculation. Besides, our writers, at least those of our nation, have been forced by the importunity of our adversaries to devote all their leisure to the defence of the truth, so that they could compose but a very small number of works, and even these treat only of a few special matters. Thus this portion of religion, which is, if I may say it, its soul and essence, and which it was so necessary fully to explain and understand, has been in some degree neglected."

David Martin (1639-1721) acquired a popular name in the Reformed communion of France, by the corrections he made in the ancient versions of the Bible. His translation, without being exempt from faults, is still the one which gives with the most fidelity and simplicity the force of the original text. He had been invited by the synod of the Walloon churches, in 1694, to undertake this work, and to add to it critical comments. Thirteen years after, he published his new edition of the Bible in two volumes, folio.

He had made the French language a particular study. "He had such a knowledge of the rules and the niceties," says Nicéron, "that he was able to furnish remarks and observations to the French Academy. He sent these to them when he was to issue the second edition of his Dictionary. The letter of thanks which the Academy wrote him shows the esteem in which they held his criticisms."

David Martin twice refused to become professor; but he took pleasure in giving lessons in Theology, at his house, to the young students of Utrecht. At the age of eighty years he preserved still much of his mental vigor. The 7th of September, 1721, he preached on Providence, with a power which astonished his auditors; but when the sermon was finished, he could descend from the pulpit only by supporting himself on the arms of his friends, and two days after he breathed his last. This pious

theologian had always desired to die in going from the house of God.

Jacques Basnage, (1658–1723,) grandson of Benjamin Basnage, of whom we have already spoken, surpassed all the members of his family in the variety of his knowledge, the extent of his works, and the greatness of the part to which he was called. “He was more fitted,” says Voltaire, “to be a minister of State than of a parish.”

Basnage was employed, in fact, in many important negotiations. He took part in the conferences which preceded the peace of Utrecht, and demanded, but in vain, the re-establishment of religious liberty in France. Shortly after, Cardinal de Bouillon, who had retired into Holland, trusted to him the business he had to arrange with the States-General. In 1716, Abbé Dubois had recourse to the intervention of Basnage to conclude a treaty with the United Provinces and England. Singular spectacle, a poor exiled pastor who augmented the alliances of his native land !

The regent still applied to him to prevent the Spanish Cardinal Aberoni from exciting insurrections among the Protestants of the southern provinces. Basnage counselled the French government to confer with Antoine Court, and this humble minister of the Desert, condemned to death by the laws, promised that the tranquillity of the Languedoc should not be disturbed. On this occasion, and upon the express request of the Duke of Orleans, Basnage wrote to the Protestants of France a pastoral instruction, which was widely spread. The author supports in it the principles of Christianity on the obedience due to the sovereign ; but perhaps, after having exhorted the oppressed to submission, he might have had something more to say to their oppressors.

Placed at the head of the French Church of The Hague, ap-

pointed historiographer of the States-General of Holland, and sustained by the public regard, he was as happy as one could be in exile. "He was true," says a biographer, "even in the smallest matters. Intercourse with the highest society had given him a refinement of manners seldom found among the learned. Affable, prepossessing, popular, courteous, he had no greater pleasure than that of rendering his service, and employing his influence in favor of the unfortunate."

It is surprising that he was able, in the midst of so many political occupations and the labors of his pastoral office, to compose so many works on theology and ecclesiastical history. Some are very voluminous, among others, the *History of the Religion of the Reformed Churches*, the *History of the Jews*, and that of the Church from Jesus Christ to the eighteenth century. The erudition of Basnage is vast, his thoughts penetrating, his style strong: he elevated controversy to a degree which has been attained only by Bossuet.

Jacques Abbadie (1654-1724) was the best apologist of Christianity, and one of the most able writers of the Reformed communion. After completing his studies in the Academies of Sedan and Saumur, he went to serve the French Church of Berlin. "The only thing which chagrins me," said one day the Duke de Montausier to the ambassador of the Grand Elector of Brandenburg, in speaking of a writing of Abbadie, "is, that the author of this book is at Berlin." If France had lost one of her glories, who was to blame?

Abbadie retired afterwards into England, and died as Dean of the parish of Killalaw, in Ireland. We read in a notice of his life: "His manners, refined by intercourse with polite society, were easy and affable, and we have rarely seen a man of a more equal or obliging disposition. With vivacity of spirit, and expressing himself with as great propriety, elegance, and effect, as

in the works he had time to meditate, his conversation was agreeable and useful, and no one ever left him without regret."

His treatise on the *Art de se connaître soi même*, is full of judicious observations, and shows that the author had profoundly meditated upon the relations of the human conscience to the obligations of the Gospel. But the most celebrated of his works is the treatise of the *Vérité de la religion Chrétienne*. He won the admiration of the Catholics as well as the Protestants. "This most admirable work," said the Abbé Desfontaines, forty years after, "blots out from the eye of the world all the books published before him on the defence of Christianity. What conversions has it not wrought! what strong minds has it not brought to submission!"

Madame de Sévigné wrote to the Count de Bussi-Rabutin: "It is the most divine of all books; it is universally admired. I do not think any one has spoken of religion like that man. I will read it every three months for the rest of my life." And the count replied, with the same enthusiasm: "Till now I have not touched any other books which speak of God, and I see clearly to-day the reason: it is, that the source appeared to me doubtful, but seeing it clear and lucid in Abbadie, it makes me value what I did not esteem. Still more, it is an admirable book. It paints all that he told me, and forces my reason to believe what appeared incredible."

The author combats the Atheists in the first part of his work, the Deists in the second, and the Socinians in the third. He starts with the proposition: There is one God, to arrive at the fact that Jesus is the promised Messiah. He then reascends from this last proposition to the first. This book has been translated into several languages, and a great number of editions have appeared.

Elias Benoit (1640–1728) was a learned and laborious theolo-

gian. We discharge a debt of gratitude in devoting a few lines to the author of the *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*, who has greatly assisted us in our work.

Pastor of the Church of Alençon, he had the sorrow to see his temple closed, under the futile pretext that the faithful, interrupted in the exercise of their worship by the populace, had assumed a defensive attitude. He went to Paris to defend their cause; but instead of doing justice to his complaints, they replied by menaces.

Having fled into Holland, Benoît published a letter addressed to his old parishioners, and we read, in his memoirs, that they emigrated *en masse*; scarcely the eighth part remained in France. Does not this explain why the town of Alençon figures no more in the catalogue of the Reformed churches?

The chief work of Benoît is the history which we have often quoted. It should be read by all who desire to understand one of the most important periods of the French Reformation. More precision and brevity, perhaps, might be desired in this work, but it could not be more accurate. The author has a correct judgment, an honest and discreet pen, and is guided by no other impulse than a love of truth.

Jacques Saurin (1677-1730) was the greatest preacher of the French Protestants. He was born at Nismes, where his father followed the profession of a lawyer, and he pursued his early studies at Geneva. At the age of seventeen, he entered military life, and became ensign-bearer to a regiment in the service of Savoy. But peace being re-established, he resumed his academic studies under the able Professors Tronchin, Surretin, and Pictet.

In 1701, he was appointed pastor of a French church at London. A few years after, having made a voyage to Holland, he had occasion to ascend the pulpits of The Hague, and his preach-

ing was received with so much applause, that they created a new place for him, under the name of *ministre des nobles*, which he occupied till his death.

From 1708 to 1725 he published five volumes of sermons; the seven others, inferior to the first, did not appear till after his death. He had the great qualities of the Christian orator—a profound acquaintance with the Bible, a sound and comprehensive theology, the art of constructing the most learned and original plans of discourse, a manly logic, ornaments tempered and always serious, a style which meekly serves the thought and never enslaves it. More unction and correctness of language might sometimes be desired in his discourses. The misfortunes of the faithful to whom Saurin proclaimed the Gospel, moreover, aided his powerful oratory, by giving him something of the poignant and the tragical. We could cite one of his sermons which put forth great influence upon the destinies of Europe.

That which is less understood than the depth of Saurin's discourses, is the action with which he delivered them. "To an exterior such as he needed to prepossess his audience," said the journalists of the time, "M. Saurin united a strong and sonorous voice. Those who call to mind the magnificent prayer which he pronounced before the sermon, will never forget that their ear was filled with the most harmonious sounds. It would have been desirable if his voice could have preserved the same richness to the end of the discourse, but as we have no design of writing a panegyric, we shall avow that he did not control it enough. A little less fire would have guarded him from this defect. The expectation raised by the prayer was not deceived by the sermon; we appeal confidently, in this respect, to his auditors. All, without exception, at least, who are worth mentioning, were delighted; and those who came to criticise him, lost

the idea in proportion as they gave their attention to find some part susceptible of criticism."¹

Saurin published letters on the state of Christianity in France. He reproached the Protestants there with not having abandoned a country where they could not freely celebrate their worship, and called them temporizers. The reproach was too severe, and it is little to be regretted that his counsels of emigration *en masse* were not followed.

He was accused before the synods of having justified *le mensonge officieux*, in his discourses on the Bible. It gave rise to a long and labored controversy. The following is the declaration Saurin addressed to the synods: "I have not pretended, in my dissertation upon deception, to do any thing but report *historically* the sentiments of those who believe that lying is always criminal, and of those who believe it innocent in certain cases. In regard to the sanctity and veracity of God, as also the obligation under which men are to speak the truth, I hold myself the doctrine contained in my catechism, which I shall always teach."

It is said that Saurin, so skilful in revealing in the pulpit the passions of men and their secret motives of action, knew not how to detect them in society. With little experience of the world, he had the candor and confidence of a child. Nothing was easier than to ensnare and deceive him. His life was often disturbed.

Jacques Lenfant (1661-1728) and Isaac de Beausobre, (1659-1738 :) two names which must remain united in history, since they are affixed to the same works. Both were pastors at Berlin; they had the same turn of mind, the same taste for historical and critical studies, the same creed, the same religious life; and contemporary memoirs attribute to both the same gentleness of character.

¹ *Biblioth. française*, t. XXII. pp. 238, 239.

Lenfant wrote the history of the Councils of Constance, of Pisa, and of Bâle—works characterized by knowledge and sincerity. Voltaire said of him, that he contributed more than any other man to diffuse the elegance and power of the French language throughout Germany. Beausobre, on his side, has secured a reputation justly celebrated by his history of Manicheism.

The two authors were associated in publishing an original edition of the New Testament, with critical notes. Beausobre had for his part the Epistles of St. Paul, and Lenfant all the other books. The task of the former was the more difficult, that of the latter more extensive. "This distribution of labor," says the biographer of Beausobre, "did not prevent them from working in concert." There was always, in this respect, a perfect harmony between them. When one thought differently from the other, they discussed, they criticised, but they cheerfully yielded to the strongest evidence."

With the successors of this illustrious generation of refugee pastors and theologians we have no more to do. Born and educated out of France, their glory is the property of the nations which sustained them by their hospitality.

IX.

We have left the Protestants earnestly at work for the reorganization of their churches. They restored to force many of the articles of the ancient discipline. The consistories, recently re-established, were vigilant to maintain good order in the flocks. The assemblies approached the great centres of the Protestant population, and were held more frequently by daylight. In a word, the period from 1730 to 1744 was a time of tranquillity

in comparison with the awful tempest which had scattered every thing a few years before.

The religious movement extended. A young pastor who united a living faith with a great prudence, Michel Viala, went through Upper Languedoc, and held meetings in the environs of Castres and Montauban. The district of Foix was served by Pierre Corteis, the Béarn by Etienne Deffère, Poitou and Normandy by Jean Loire and André Migault. We see that the pastors, always few in number, had to perform the office of missionaries ; their fields of labor were more vast than dioceses.

In order to introduce more regularity in their teaching and their maxims of conduct, they resolved to convene a General or National Synod ; and this assembly opened, the 18th of August, 1744, in a distant corner of Lower Languedoc, under the presidency of Michel Viala. Most of the old Protestant provinces, from the Cevennes to Normandy, were represented ; but Paris and the Isle of France sent no delegate.

The moment was well chosen in one respect, but not so in another. The Protestants could more easily assemble, for the war out of France engrossed all the attention of the government and all the forces of the country. But even this war itself made the council still more suspicious of such an assembly.

The first step of the synod was to declare that they would preserve an inviolable fidelity to the sovereign. The celebration, before the end of the year, of a solemn fast in all the Reformed flocks of the kingdom, was ordained " for the preservation of the sacred person of his majesty, for the success of his arms, for the cessation of the war, and for the deliverance of the Church." The pastors were exhorted to preach at least once a year upon the obedience due to established authorities.

The assembly took wise measures for the observation of discipline and the correction of morals. They invited the pastors to

abstain from discussing in the pulpit points of controversy, and to speak with circumspection of the sufferings of the Reformed people. They recommended the flocks to celebrate their worship by daylight as often as possible. Article 10 of the resolutions read : " As there are several provinces where religious worship is still held at night, the synod, as well to manifest more and more the purity of our intentions, as to preserve uniformity, has charged the pastors and elders of the various provinces to conform, as far as prudence will permit, to the churches which hold their exercises in broad day."

Antoine Court had come from Lausanne to attend this great assembly; and, after having adjusted a difference which had arisen on account of a pastor falsely accused, he had the happiness of preaching to an audience of ten thousand persons.

This assembly of so many of the faithful—this General Synod, whose members had come from the extremities of the kingdom—this semi-publicity given to acts which the king qualified as crime and rebellion, disquieted and irritated the council. They began to fear that the Protestants might have secret understandings with foreign nations.

Nothing was more untrue. Never, since the sixteenth century, in the very times of the most bloody persecution, had the mass of the Protestants forgotten their duties towards their prince and country. If, in the war of the Camisards, some Cévenols had expected assistance from England or Holland, it was only a local and partial affair. But the apprehensions of the court, which were constantly aroused, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, prove this great fact, that persecution cannot exist with impunity. When public authority goes beyond the limits of justice, morality, and order, it is the first to suffer; and in the absence of remorse, which fanaticism or corruption may smother, it expiates its own crime by constant and invincible terrors.

Calumny played its part in these deplorable circumstances, and public opinion, badly informed on the true sentiments of this proscribed population, received with readiness the grossest falsehoods. It was pretended that the Pastor Jacques Roger read in the religious assemblies a false edict of toleration, to excite the Protestants to rebellion; that his auditors carried arms into their meetings; that they had sung a song to implore God to give victory to the English; that their collections for the poor were a military tax; that twenty-five thousand Camisards held themselves in readiness to join the enemy, who blockaded the ports of Provence; that the convents were to be pillaged, the monks and priests massacred, and all the South of France devoted to fire and blood.

These popular rumors were even more absurd than odious, and contained not a shadow of truth. But the court believed them implicitly, and Baron d'Asfield, intendant of Languedoc, was commissioned to demand indirectly of the consistories and pastors of the Desert, whether it was true that the Protestants had an understanding with the enemy. He moreover asked if, in case of invasion, the government could rely upon a levy of Protestant volunteers. A new instance of the fatal results of intolerance: they thought it necessary to deal with Frenchmen as foreigners; and, as they had not been willing to acknowledge them as citizens, they had not confidence enough in them in the perilous hour of the nation.

The Protestants replied, that not one of their co-religionists would join the English armies; that they were all ready to do their duty in the service of the king; that the pastors did not cease to recommend obedience; and that, if they contravened the laws in matters of religion, it was by an obligation above all human authority.

The Intendant Lenain, who had many opportunities of know-

ing well the Protestants, did not distrust their assurances of loyalty. But it was otherwise at Versailles, where objects were distorted by distance and fear. The news of the National Synod of 1744 produced there acts which bordered on madness.

They made Louis XV. sign, in the month of February, 1745, two more ordinances, still more atrocious, if possible, than all the others. To the penalty of death against the pastors, and of galleys for life against those who should give them an asylum, they added that of a fine of three thousand livres against all the Protestants of the place where a minister should be arrested. As for the assemblies, it was enough to have attended them, to be condemned to the penitentiary, and the confiscation of all possession: it was enough not to have denounced them. These laws made every thing crime; and out of fifteen hundred thousand Protestants, they could have condemned one-half, at the end of six months, to the galleys, and the rest to beg for their bread.

Although it was impossible to execute these ordinances to the letter, and though even the compilers of them would not have permitted it, they were followed with disastrous results. In vain the Protestants had sent petition on petition to the king, to the ministers, to the intendants, to all the officers who had power to aid them—these requests, in which they exposed in the most humble language their sufferings and their unalterable sentiments of loyalty, did not reach their destination; and when they did, they did not deign to read them. Some were burned or posted to the pillory by the hand of the executioner, as if their complaints were less just because the court was not ashamed to treat them with such indignity.

Antoine Court composed an historical memoir on the persecutions, which were revived after the synod of 1744. His truthfulness being no more suspected than his perfect knowledge of

events, it is from him especially that we shall borrow the facts which follow.

The seizures of children were multiplied in the provinces, and particularly in Normandy: Court gives a list, (and it is large,) name by name. These abductions were ordinarily made at night, like the expeditions of brigands, by companies of soldiers led by parish curates. When the door opened too slowly, they broke through; and these soldiers, with sword in hand, and blasphemy on the tongue, overturned every thing to discover their prey, reckless, in their insults, of the despair and cries of mothers, striking down fathers who dared to complain, bearing off their children, especially young girls, and forcing them into the convents. Parents were obliged to pay an alimentary pension; and if one of the victims escaped, they were held responsible. These atrocities provoked a new emigration. Six hundred families of Normandy took advantage of the neighboring sea to depart from the kingdom with all they could take away.

For persons of high rank they had new recourse to *lettres de cachet*. The Protestants of lower rank were subjected to the condemnations of judicial or administrative sentences. The Parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and the Intendants of Saintonge, Guyenne, Dauphiny, Quercy, and Languedoc persecuted ceaselessly the Protestants who had had their children baptized or their marriages consecrated in the Desert.

Religious assemblies were watched, and assaulted with fury. The 17th of March, 1745, two companies of dragoons rushed upon an assembly in the environs of Mazamet, fired on them, killed several persons, wounded a greater number, and dragged away many prisoners. Similar scenes were enacted near Montauban, Uzès, Saint-Hippolyte, Saint-Ambroix, and other places. It was necessary to recommence assembling at night.

It has been computed that from 1744 to 1746, three hundred persons were condemned to the lash, to degradation from nobility, to perpetual imprisonment, to the galleys, or even to death, by the single Parliament of Grenoble, which showed itself pitiless, because it administered justice in a frontier province, a few steps from the enemy, encamped on the Alps. The fines were enormous. In a petition addressed to the king in 1750, the Protestants of Dauphiny declared they had been forced to pay more than two hundred thousand livres; and that, from the depth of their prisons, they heard the selling of their furniture and estates at auction.

It was the same in the other provinces of the South, with some mitigations. Nismes paid for its part more than sixty thousand livres. The intendant coined money with heresy, as it was done with the aristocracy in 1793.

"I could produce here," says Antoine Court, "first, a list of more than six hundred prisoners arrested from 1744 (he wrote in 1753) in the provinces of Lower and Upper Languedoc, the Upper and Lower Alps, Vivarais, Dauphiny, Provence, the district of Foix, Saintonge, and Poitou: among whom are several noblemen, lawyers, physicians, respectable *bourgeois*, rich merchants, who have suffered long and severe imprisonments, from which they were delivered only on paying arbitrary and ruinous fines. I could produce another, of more than eight hundred persons who have been condemned to various punishments, among whom there are more than eighty noblemen."

Some of the condemned, after having passed a certain time in the penitentiary, obtained pardon by the intervention of powerful protectors, or by pecuniary sacrifices; and this explains why there were at Toulon, in 1753, only forty-eight convicts for the cause of religion. We should also estimate the mortality which struck down a great number of these unfortunates,

precipitated at a blow from a competence to so abject a condition.

Several noblemen of the district of Foix were condemned by the Intendant d'Auch to the galleys for life, with confiscation of all their property. One of them, Grenier de Lastemes, was a venerable man of seventy-six years.

He suffered the penalty in the penitentiary of Toulon ; his two sons died, one at his side, the other in the galleys of Marseilles. We have read a letter from this old man, so recently opulent, in which he thanks the Consistory of Marseilles for having given him two sous a day, to alleviate his misery ! He wrote : " Condemned to labors which have been described to you, having no nourishment but bread and water, one can exempt himself from it only by paying a sou every morning to the keepers ; otherwise he is obliged to remain bound to a beam with a heavy chain, night and day."

The dragoonades were renewed at Milhan, at Saint-Affrique, and other places of Rouergue, Languedoc, and Dauphiny. The lower classes were treated in the same way, for the crime of attending the assemblies.

Some sentences were pronounced which would be laughable, if they had been less atrocious. Not only were the Protestants persecuted for having introduced into the kingdom Bibles and pious books, but a poor man, named Etienne Arnaud, of Dieule-Fit, was condemned, in 1744, to the galleys for life, and public exposure on the scaffold ; for what ? Because he had taught the singing of psalms to a few young men. His psalter and a copy of the New Testament were nailed to the post at his side.

X.

The pastors continued to be, above all others, the objects of merciless persecutions. More reflection would have shown, on the one hand, that the Protestants were unconquerably attached to their belief, with or without pastors; on the other, that these ministers of religion, even in a political view, did good rather than evil, since they repressed the explosion of the popular indignation, and always recommended order, patience, and respect for the laws. But neither intendants nor parliaments could understand that these men were among the most useful citizens, and three pastors were put to death in 1745 and 1746.

The first, Louis Rang or Ranc, was aged twenty-six years. He was arrested in a hostelry of Levron, condemned to capital punishment by the Parliament of Grenoble, and executed at Die, in the month of March, 1745.

"At Crest," says a contemporaneous writer, "the minister asked permission to be shaved and to have his hair dressed. This air of cleanliness appeared to him necessary to show the serenity which reigned in his soul, and the contempt with which he regarded the unjust death he was to suffer. He faced it like a hero, and never was the serenity of a Christian superior to his own. While going to execution, he began to sing the verse of the 118th Psalm: *This is the day the Lord hath made*, which he repeated several times. The speech he intended to make could not be heard. Ten drums, placed near him, made so much noise that his voice was drowned. Without noticing the Jesuits who accompanied him, he kept his eyes constantly lifted towards heaven, and offered a noble exhibition of the most ardent and profound piety. At the foot of the ladder

he kneeled, made a prayer, and then mounted it with courage.”¹

His corpse was insulted by the populace. A Catholic woman had the humanity to give these miserable remains a burial.

After this young servant of the Gospel, the veteran of the assemblies of the Desert, who had revived the churches with Antoine Court, Jacques Roger, an old man of seventy years, died. He was taken in the neighborhood of Crest. “Who are you?” asked an officer of the *maréchaussée*. “I am,” he answered, “the one whom you have long sought, and it was time that you should have found me.” Like Ignatius of Antioch, Jacques Roger was sighing for martyrdom.

Confined with other prisoners, he exhorted them to remain firm in the faith. When the executioner came for him: “This is,” cried he, “the happy day; this is the blessed moment which I have so often desired. Let us rejoice, my soul, since it is the happy day when thou must enter into the joy of thy Lord.”

He prayed the Jesuits, who importuned him, not to trouble him longer in his meditation, and marched at the sound of the drums, which did not cease to beat. “There was no person,” says further Armand de La Chapelle, “who could not read upon the countenance of this holy confessor, the profound serenity, the sincere piety, and the ardent zeal of his soul. The Jesuits themselves spoke of it with eulogiums, and various persons of the Roman communion could not avoid appearing affected. After having made his prayer upon his knees at the foot of the scaffold, he ascended the steps with the same air of modest confidence which he had manifested till that hour.” They threw the body of Jacques Roger into the Isère, after having left it twenty-four hours upon the gibbet.

¹ Armand de La Chapelle, the *Nécessité du culte public*, etc.

The third—the man who excited the most ardent sympathies—was executed the 2d of February, 1746. His name was *Matthieu Majal*, and he had also, according to the custom of the pastors of the Desert, the surname of *Désubas*. He was also only twenty-six years of age.

Surprised at *Saint-Agrève*, in the *Vivaraïs*, they conducted him to *Vernoux*. The news of his arrest spread universal sorrow. As he was entering a village, some unarmed peasants supplicated the commandant to deliver up their pastor, and one of them, rushing towards *Désubas*, grasped him firmly in his arms, and begged that he should be set at liberty. The only answer was the order of the commandant to fire, and six were killed.

The next day, the day of religious worship, a considerably larger multitude, but equally unarmed, entered the borough of *Vernoux*. The officer feared an insurrection, and ordered his men to fire, from the tops of the houses, on the multitude, who only intended to struggle by their lamentations and prayers. Thirty of the poor people fell dead; two or three hundred were wounded.

The mountaineers of the *Vivaraïs* then flew to arms, and prepared to avenge the murder of their brethren. But the pastors hastened to interpose, and besought them, in the name of their faith, their families, their country, in the name of the common safety, to stop. "It is only on this condition," said one of their most venerated pastors, "that I will continue my ministry amongst you."

Désubas, himself, wrote them this note, from the depth of his prison: "I pray you, gentlemen, to retire. The soldiers of the king are here in great numbers. Already too much blood has been spilt. I am very tranquil, and entirely resigned to the divine will."

The peasants yielded; they dropped their arms. But from

Vernoux to Montpellier, the whole length of the route over which the pastor went, they were standing in gloomy, silent consternation, their eyes filled with tears, scarcely restraining their trembling arms. All their ministers were there, concealed in this multitude, and endeavoring to appease them, by the holy words of the Gospel.

Désubas arrived at Montpellier at the time of the holding of the States. The clergy pressed eagerly around him, soliciting but one word, a single word of abjuration. Vain efforts! The pastor of the Desert was more firm before the seductions of his persecutors than before the tears of his people: long since had he devoted himself to death.

The intendant, Lenain, demanded of him, not to know it himself, but to discharge his official duty, if the Protestants had not a common fund, if they had not collected arms, if they were not in correspondence with England. "Nothing of all this is true," replied the prisoner; "the ministers preach only patience and loyalty to the king." "I know it, sir," said the intendant, with emotion.

The sentence of death was pronounced upon Désubas. The judges and the intendant wept. "It is with sorrow we condemn you," said he, "but these are the orders of the king." "I know it, sir," responded the pastor of the Desert.

The instrument of death is prepared on the esplanade of Montpellier. Désubas is conducted thither, bareheaded, barefooted, in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators. They burn under his eyes the papers and the books which had been found upon him. The roll of fourteen drums drowns his voice. He preserves a calm countenance, repels the Jesuits who present to him a cross, utters a short prayer, mounts, with a firm step, the fatal scaffold, and gives up his soul to God.

We can see here the strong antagonism which already existed

between laws and manners. The judges pronounced sentence with unwilling heart, in pursuance of the letter of the law, and in their souls regarded the man as innocent whom they were forced to treat as guilty. All the Catholics of any intellectual and moral education were shocked at the execution of Désubas. The Protestants, on the contrary, blessed God, for having given them a martyr so heroic, and his name resounded long in the popular legends, in the cottages of the peasants of Vivarais and Languedoc.

But this redoubling of persecutions had wearied the patience of many of the Protestants. In default of religious liberty, they demanded, at least, permission to sell their property, that they might go into voluntary exile. "It being impossible for us," wrote they to Louis XV., "to live without the exercise of our religion, we are compelled, in spite of ourselves, to supplicate your majesty, with the most profound humility and respect, that you may be pleased to allow us to leave the kingdom with our wives, our children, and our effects, to settle in foreign countries, where we can freely render to God the worship which we believe indispensable, and on which depends our happiness or our misery for eternity."

Instead of granting this authorization, the council replied by an aggravation of severities, especially after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. The troops lacked employment; the court had leisure; they recalled the anxieties the heretics had caused them during the war, and resolved to strike yet a decisive blow, to make an end, if possible, of these proscribed people.

It is painful to detect continually the hand of the clergy in these scenes of violence, spoliation, and death. The venerable Malesherbes, the Baron de Breteuil, Rulhières, Joly de Fleury, Gilbert de Voisins, Rippert de Monclus, the highest statesmen, the most eminent magistrates, who have written upon the reli-

gious affairs of this period, utter but one voice on it. They agree in signalizing the influence of the priests, an influence as obstinate as incessant; sometimes haughty, sometimes supple and humble, but always supplicating the employment of the last means of constraint and severity for the re-establishment of religious unity.

It is still more intolerable that at the very time they were demanding the strict execution of the atrocious ordinances of 1724 and 1745, the clergy did not fail to say that the Church wishes to use only charitable and paternal means. Can one conceive, imagine, dream of the possibility of so flagrant a contradiction?

Why, then, do they knock at all the doors, besiege the offices of all the ministers, apply to the princes—menace, solicit, beg, even offer money—and for what purpose? To crush the consciences of more than a million of Protestants; to persecute them even in the sanctuary of their domestic worship; to oblige them to baptize their children by a priest, under pain of bastardy; to force the parents to demand the Catholic benediction, under pain of losing all civil rights; and, finally, to launch soldiers against assemblies, jailers and executioners against pastors; and all this is but a work of meekness, charity, fraternal love!

There was a bishop of Castres who asked for a regiment of dragoons to dissolve the assemblies, taking care to add that the soldiers would do no harm to his flocks, among which he counted the newly converted brethren. The Bishop of Aire made complaints that the custom of testing the refusal of the sacraments on the death-bed of the heretics had fallen into disuse, and he desired to recommence the processes brought against the dead. But the Count de Saint-Florentin, secretary of State for religious affairs, whatever was his complaisance towards the clergy, thought it necessary to address severe admonitions to this prelate.

Moreover, the idea of religious liberty, or even of simple tol-

erance, appears to have been absolutely unknown to the Roman ecclesiastics of the time; they did not comprehend it; and, if they caught a glimpse of it among others, they attacked it as impiety. We have the proof of it in a letter which made much noise in 1751. It bore the signature of Chabannes, bishop of Agen.

A paper had fallen into his hands containing what follows: "It is the wish of M., the controller-general, that every protection should be granted to M. Frontin, a Huguenot merchant, and that he be treated so well that the knowledge of it, which will reach the traders, may induce them to return to the kingdom." The matter regarded only the opening of the gates of France to a few industrious refugees, by letting them live in peace.

The bishop at once took the pen to express to the Controller-general Machault his *astonishment* and his *grief*. The letter of Chabannes was long and skilfully drawn up. He spoke little of doctrine, knowing well that this kind of argument would touch few unbelievers; but he exposes in his way the political bearings of the question. The Calvinists, he insinuated, are enemies of the king, rebels by principle, republicans by system; they have brought the kingdom several times near destruction, and they would do it again if they were recalled. Louis XIV. had wisdom enough to free the State from these vicious and peccant humors, which have made such great ravages, (we copy *verbatim*;) Louis XV. will follow the same path. As to the thought of permitting the Huguenot ministers to perform their functions in France, this is an enormity which the bishop does not even stop to consider. "Heaven, which has always protected this monarchy," said he in closing, "heaven, which has united till now religion with it by bonds which have not been sundered, inspires me with this confidence. We will not be witnesses of the free exercise of Calvinism. No, the son, the heir, the imitator of Louis the Great will not re-establish the Huguenots."

The controller-general, who did not love the priests, but who feared their intrigues and denunciations, hastened to disown the paper, more or less apocryphal, which had caused so much bad humor to the Bishop of Agen, and here the affair stopped. We should notice, again, the contrast of opinions with the times. At this day, a prelate who should utter the language of Chabannes would be accused of madness; at the middle of the eighteenth century the Bishop Chabannes was accused by his brethren of excessive indulgence—he was considered too moderate.

Monclus, bishop of Alais, carried his demands much further. Though confessing that persecution does not change the heart, and that conversion is only a work of grace, he publicly solicited, in 1751, a new royal declaration against the Protestants. He no longer desired judicial formalities. The Huguenots who should refuse to perform acts of Catholicity were to be, according to this prelate, summarily judged by the commandant of the province, or by the intendant. He accused the judges of relaxing the severity of ordinances—a neglect from which had sprung all the evils of the kingdom. No more intervention of the parliaments; military or administrative omnipotence; arbitrary and absolute judgments.

The procurator-general to the Parliament of Aix, Rippert de Monclus, defended religion, justice, morals, and humanity, insulted by this priest. He replied, in a *Mémoire théologique et politique*, published in 1755, that the sentiments of the prelate were as irreligious as inhuman, and tended to the entire overthrow of society. “If the bishops have reason to complain,” adds he, “of the profanation of the sacraments on the part of the Protestants, and of the uselessness of the proofs which they have exacted for seventy years, why then do they wish to force them to continue the same acts of Catholicism, by soliciting against them the continual and vigorous execution of the royal

ordinances? Why, placed thus, compel them to renew these horrible impieties of which they complain? Is it, then, better to trample under foot our holy religion than not to profess it at all? Who has ever heard it said that they could compel any one, in spite of his inclination and belief, to receive the fearful mysteries, which must be approached, not with faith alone, but also with love and zeal, and from which the Catholics themselves, if ever so cold and indifferent, must be removed? Past profanations have made heaven and earth tremble; and they are, nevertheless, preparing for us to renew the horrid spectacle.”¹

Rippert de Monclus says that these heretics, after all, are in no worse a condition than the Jews, to whom they freely grant not only the privilege of marrying without the Church, but still more, the free exercise of their religion. He demands, whether they must embrace in a like condemnation with the hundred and fifty thousand who have contracted clandestine marriages, all the children born or to be born. “What evil have they done us,” exclaims he, “to render them the opprobrium of all mankind?”

He shows, moreover, that the persecutions demanded by the Bishop of Alais would not be more efficacious than they had been. “If they gave this prelate,” says he, “an exact list of all the Protestant ministers they have put to death; of all persons, of every age and rank, they have sent to the galleys; of all the taxes, fines, and other contributions they have exacted; of all the children they have stolen from their parents; of all the marriages they have annulled and declared public fornication; of all the property which has been adjudged by this sentence to collateral kindred; of all the persons they have imprisoned and retained in long captivity; of all the decrees they have brought

¹ P. 9, 45, 46.

against multitudes of others; of all the excesses, even; and of all the frightful murders committed by the troops of the king, and against the intentions of his majesty—alas! this list would form entire volumes. Every corner of France rang with the cries of these unfortunates; they attracted even the compassion of all those who glory, I do not say in being Christians, but in being men, while a bishop is insensible, and even seeks to redouble them! Would it not be more becoming for him, after having planted and watered in their favor, to lament for them between the porch and the altar?"¹

This lesson of morals and of public decency, given by the magistracy to the clergy, was as merited as it was severe;—it was not the only one, as we shall have occasion to show.

XI.

The government did not follow implicitly the counsels of the bishops. It neither dared nor desired to do it. But it granted them much, and as much more as was needed to repair the finances, exhausted by the war. The prelates consented to augment their gratuitous contributions, but on the express condition that the extirpation of heresy should be prosecuted with more vigor.

The Protestants, on their side, did not grow weary of demanding, by all pacific means, the redress of their grievances. Seven pastors of the Desert addressed to Louis XV., the 21st of December, 1750, a new and respectful petition, in which, after showing that their parish worship, the baptisms, marriages, and sacraments of their communion were to them matters of con-

¹ P. 48, 49.

science, they said: "Your soldiers hunt us in the deserts as if we were ferocious beasts; they confiscate our property; they carry away our children; they condemn us to the galleys; and although our ministers exhort us constantly to discharge our duties as good citizens and loyal subjects, a price is set on their heads, and when they can be arrested they put them to death."

But Louis XV. and his council took no more notice of this petition than of others. The Protestants were in the remote provinces; they had no gratuitous contributions to offer, no high protection to invoke. They were regarded as suspected men because they were proscribed, and the evil which had been done them was the best reason for doing them still more.

These details on the sentiments of the court, and the incessant provocations of the clergy, serve to explain the increase of the persecutions which the Protestants had to endure from 1750 to 1755. The Intendant Lenain, a strict man, but whose heart was touched on better understanding the Protestants, was replaced in the Languedoc by the Viscount Guignard de Saint-Priest, who, without fanaticism or harshness of character, became the instrument of the most violent measures. They again assaulted the assemblies near Cayla, Vigan, and Anduze. In the last encounter, three men were killed, several wounded, others sent to prison. The persecutions became so violent, that it was necessary to give up religious worship on Sunday.

The intendant was ordered to proceed to a general *rebaptization* of the children, and a *re-bénédiction* of the marriages of the entire Reformed population;—the words are as barbarous as the thing itself. He convoked, therefore, the Notables at Nismes and elsewhere, in 1751, and enjoined them to have their children brought into the parish churches within a fortnight; in default of which, they should be punished according to the severity of the ordinances. The curates and Catholic consuls were

commissioned to prepare the list of the refractory. Guignard de Saint-Priest took the pains, ridiculous enough, in such circumstances, to attempt a controversy, as a doctor of the Sorbonne would have done, and to prove that, Catholic baptism being recognized as valid by the Protestants, to reject it would be an *infatuation without a motive*.

The Protestants replied to this armed controversy, that the curates understood the question quite otherwise; that they exacted the promise to allow their children to be educated in the Roman faith; that they treated and punished the baptized as relapsed if they did not remain Catholics; and that the clergy had laid down the following maxims: "The Church has all power over those who have received baptism, as the king has a full right over the money he has stamped with his image."

Finding himself short of good reasons, the Viscount de Saint-Priest took again a part which better became him, and pronounced against the obstinate the most terrible menaces. The oppressed were terrified. They abandoned their houses, fields, workshops, manufactories, and fled to the forests and caverns.

The intendant was exasperated; and on the 1st of September, 1751, he wrote to one of his deputies: "They are deceived, if they hope that the king will change his sentiments, or that I shall neglect the execution of the precise orders his majesty has given me on this subject. Nevertheless, I will cheerfully grant them still a delay." But the desertion continued to increase, and Saint-Priest recommenced the dragoonades by forced quarterings, in these terms: "N——, cavalier of the *maréchaussée*, will retain his quarter at —— till he has sent his children to the church to have the ceremonies of baptism performed by the curate of the place; and he will exact four livres a day until perfect obedience is given, declaring that the garrison shall be increased."

A commandant, of the name of Pontuan, or Pontual, cried out in the streets of Cayla : " Let no one flatter himself ; all the Huguenots must obey or perish, should I perish myself ! " The soldiers, aided by some Catholics, and often accompanied by the priests of the place, hunted down the children through the whole country, seized them as malefactors, and dragged them to the church.

" There were some," says Antoine Court, " of ten, twelve, fourteen years, who were utterly averse to be driven to the church, and whom they were obliged to drag by main force ; others rent the heart and the air with the most touching cries ; a third party threw themselves, like lions, upon those who tried to seize them, and with their hands tore their flesh and clothing. Others, having no better means of avenging themselves, turned into ridicule the ceremony they were to meet. They had already covered them with a white gown, and were bringing water to sprinkle on their heads, when all at once, raising their voice, they cried out : *Do they wish to shave us ?* The curate and the garrison of Lussan so tormented the children of the village by dragging them to the church, where they put them under lock and key, that some of them said to the curate that when they saw him, they thought they saw the devil ; and others, still more exasperated, spit in his face."¹

And in such a state of things, in the midst of these brutal and shameful scenes, they administered baptism to them by force ! If it were told us such acts had been committed by a horde of savages, we would not believe it ; and it is less than a century since these things occurred in the heart of France !

After having completed the rebaptization at Cayla, the Commandant Pontual, who employed as much zeal as he received

¹ *Mémoires hist.*, pp. 45, 56.

gratification from the seizures of children, continued his expeditions throughout Vaunage, along the coast, in the plains, stationing garrisons at the houses of the absent or the obstinate, to the number of fifteen or twenty, who broke, pillaged, destroyed every thing.

The court of Versailles, rejoicing to see so many children rebaptized, ordered the work to be completed through the mountains. But there was an end of Pontual's exploits. The old feelings of the Camisards awoke again. A few peasants, rather encouraged than restrained by their minister, Coste, took up the musket, declaring that, at the first act of violence against their children, blood should be spilt. Neither the curates nor the soldiers regarded this. The Cévenols then formed an ambuscade; and seeing a few priests passing, who served as guides to the troops, fired upon them, in the environs of Lédignun, on the banks of the Gardon, the 10th of August, 1752. Three curates were wounded, two of them mortally.

These bold shots produced an extraordinary effect. The soldiers fled from the mountain; the intendant stopped short; Versailles was disturbed and uneasy; they remembered the war of the Camisards; the enterprise of the rebaptizations was abandoned, then and forever. If there had been fanaticism in the heart of the ministers of State, civil war would have been rekindled in all its fury; but they were only unbelievers, who parodied, in sport, the passions of extinct generations, and at the first symptoms of a serious conflict, they had enough.

The emigration, which was renewed on a large scale, contributed still to quiet their affected fury. They were obliged to guard the great roads, as in 1685; and the Protestants used the same means to escape the vigilance of the soldiers. Languedoc, Dauphiny, Saintonge, already so impoverished by the Edict of Revocation, were in danger of losing the last resources of their

industry. Before this prospect the frivolity of Versailles recoiled.

A few weeks after this beginning of insurrection, the Marquis de Paulmy, minister of war, visited the fortresses of the Languedoc. A prudent and upright man, he listened to the complaints of the Protestants with kindness, and forbade the subaltern officers to maltreat them.

A pastor, François Bénézet, had been condemned to death during the persecutions; he was executed at Montpellier, the 27th of March, 1752. Worried out with the solicitations of an abbé, who kept saying to him: "You are damned, you will have nothing but hell, if you do not recant," he replied: "If you were persuaded that there is a hell, would you persecute me as you do? And should I have been condemned to lose my life on a gibbet for simply addressing a few exhortations to my brethren?"

He desired to speak at the foot of the gallows: the roll of drums drowned his voice. He died singing the fifty-first Psalm. Bénézet left an infant of two years, and a wife *enfiante*. Like Louis Ranc and D'subas, he was only twenty-six years old.

"Another pastor, Jean Molines," says Fléchier, "had not the same courage. He abjured in face of the scaffold; but, to his latest breath, he was inconsolable for it. Having retired into Holland, and become reinstated in the communion of the faithful, after giving evidence of the deepest repentance, he could not forgive himself for having faltered. An eye-witness relates that his countenance, furrowed with wrinkles, bore the impress of despair. His sight was impaired by continual weeping: his head drooped on his breast. Having become insensible to all around him, he no longer regarded himself as living." Molines died thirty years after, mourning for the crown of martyrdom.

While he was in prison, some priests published, under his

name, a *Lettre* and *abjuration du sieur Molines*. The Protestants replied to this work of pious fraud: "We know not how his converters have made him date his recantation from the citadel of Montpellier. A fortress was never a school of light, nor a means of convincing people of the truth of religion. Every retractation which comes forth from a hand in chains is so strongly suspected, that no one would dare to test it before any tribunal."

XII.

It remains for us yet to notice a period of general persecution, especially in the province of Languedoc; happily, it continued but a short time, and it was the last.

The author of these new persecutions was a nobleman celebrated by his gallantries, the most brilliant Epicurean of the eighteenth century, an infidel who protected Voltaire, and whom Voltaire repaid by laudation, viz. Marshal Richelieu. Really, of all the parts he could play, none less became him than that of Inquisitor of the Faith.

For a long time, as governor of Languedoc, he had shown some mildness towards the Protestants. But, unexpectedly, in the month of February, 1754, he posted up in the principal towns or boroughs of the dioceses of Montpellier, Nismes, Uzès, and Alais, a summons or order to the military commandants, which awoke all the alarms of the Protestants. The marshal spoke no more of rebaptization; this policy had turned out too badly; but he intended to assail the assemblies of the Desert, and he wished to apply to them the most rigorous requirements of the edict of 1724.

The order was given to arrest the new converts, refugees, or

suspected persons, who came from foreign countries without an express authorization. The assemblies were to be subjected to the strictest surveillance, and dispersed by force. They were to make as many prisoners as they could, to seize especially the preachers, to shoot them if they attempted to escape, and to discharge no one before receiving fresh orders. A reward of a thousand crowns was promised for the arrest of a minister, and they directed all those to be arrested who were found in the house with him.

When this proclamation appeared, everybody asked what had provoked it. A tacit tolerance had been observed since the affair of Lédignan. The Protestants had gathered confidence. They assembled peaceably, without much secrecy or ostentation, in some secluded valley, or on the summits of their mountains. Their intercourse with the Catholics became more unrestrained; agriculture, manufactures, commerce, the revenues of the State, were all improved. Why, then, this fresh appeal to brutal force?

It has never been cleared up. The ill-humor of a minister of State, a few pressing letters of the clergy, the caprice or vanity of a governor, who flattered himself, perhaps, with the hope of terminating, by ingenious combinations, a struggle which had lasted for eighty years; this was reason enough, at that time, for renewing the persecution. But if the Duke de Richelieu had hoped to succeed by means of a plan of strategy, he was mistaken. The courtier of Louis XV. had judged the consciences of the Protestants too much by his own.

Some assemblies were temporarily suspended, others assaulted. The prisons were filled; the tower of Aigues-Mortes held within its walls a few more poor women; but the greater part would not submit. Richelieu made known his embarrassments at Versailles, and the Count St. Florentin replied to him: "The king decides that it is necessary absolutely to destroy the desire and

the habit of assembling." It was easy to write an order; but the *goût de s'assembler*, inherent in every sincere faith, was far stronger than the will of Louis XV.

The Protestants only redoubled the precautions in their religious exercises. They were apprised of the days the troops would set out, the direction they took, the number of the soldiers in the field, and the character, more or less fierce, of the chiefs. The faithful were advised, even by Catholics who were ashamed of these acts of violence, and, at the first signal of alarm, they dispersed. But if, in spite of these precautions, they were surprised, they heartily accepted the suffering as an affliction from God.

It was in one of these assaults on the assemblies, that a Protestant of Nismes, Jean Fabre, besought the chief of a detachment to conduct him to prison instead of his father, an old man of seventy-eight years. The governor of the province sent the pious son to the penitentiary of Toulon, as though the Huguenots no longer belonged to the human race. It was necessary that the drama of the *Honest Criminal* should be brought on the stage to make known to the court, the ministers, France, Europe, this act of treason against humanity. Jean Fabre had worn, for seven years, the chain of the galley-slave; he was restored to his family in the month of March, 1762.

Of all the other surprises of assemblies which offered the repetition of the same outrages, we shall cite only that which took place in Lower Languedoc, the 8th of August, 1756. Three young men were to be consecrated to the ministry of the Gospel. This solemnity had brought together several pastors, and assembled a vast congregation. From ten to twelve thousand of the faithful had come from the surrounding country. They were chanting a psalm, when they saw a detachment of fifteen or eighteen men approaching with arms in their hands. The mul-

titude, although unarmed, might have overwhelmed this handful of assailants. But the pastors always preached submission and patience. The multitude arose, rushed away, and fled in all directions. The troop fired upon them; every shot told; some fell dead; others were wounded; the rest escaped, uttering shrieks of lamentation; some of them only picked up, at last, stones to defend their children and women. The murderers remained masters of the field, and a long trail of blood marked the spot of this praying assembly. Are we describing a scene of the age of Louis XV., or of Innocent III. and Simon de Montfort?

One pastor more perished in this deplorable period. Etienne Teissier, called Lafage, (for all the ministers of the Desert had a surname,) was arrested near Castres, on the farm of a Protestant named Jacques Novia. Warned of the approach of the troops, he attempted to save himself by escaping to the roof, but a ball broke his arm and wounded him on the chin. All the household were arrested with him, among others, a woman and two young girls. The prisoners followed the guards, chanting the psalms of the assemblies of the Desert.

They took Lafage to the prison of Alais. "The Abbé Ricard, canon at Alais, after showing the greatest kindness to the prisoner, thought proper to enter upon controversial discussions. It was necessary for the unfortunate minister to declare that he was not able to dispute, that he had already received an almost mortal wound, and that he could only think of dying a holy death. But they allowed several of the faithful to be admitted to console the martyr; among others, his own father and one of his brothers: he entreated them to pray to God for him; to submit themselves with holy resignation to the decrees of Providence: he assured them, moreover, that he was willing to suffer every thing for the sake of the Gospel. . . . Arrived at Montpellier,

the trial of this minister was prepared and consummated with indecent haste. . . . This unfortunate man, already dangerously wounded by the fire of the troops, was fastened to a gibbet, although the preparations or impending death could not disturb the serenity of his soul. The soldiers who surrounded the scaffold could hardly refrain their tears at the sight of the last sacrifice of a faith so intrepid. The sentence of death was pronounced by Guignard de Saint-Priest, intendant.”¹

This administrator condemned, also, on his sole authority, Jacques Novis, of contumacy, to the galleys for life; confiscated two-thirds of his property; razed his house to the very foundation, (a house razed in 1754 for having sheltered a pastor!) and sent away his wife and three children, who were shortly after reduced to begging their bread. All this without the intervention of any judge; it was the sentence of a commissary, of a single commissary;—the form of justice was no less insulted than justice itself.

And this deed, which in our times would excite the indignation of all France, was not an isolated or exceptional iniquity. The other provinces, although more exempt than the Languedoc, because they held fewer Protestants, had their share of sufferings and victims.

In the Saintonge the Protestants assembled in barns or unfrequented hovels, since the inclemency of the season would scarcely permit them to celebrate their worship in the open field. On a certain day, the intendant ordered these places of religious worship to be demolished to the foundations, and condemned to the galleys for life a poor man who had opened to the assemblies the door of his house. A woman was condemned to perpetual confinement, with confiscation of property, although she was

simply suspected of having afforded an asylum to the pastor Gibert; and this pastor himself, fortunately escaping, was condemned, by sentence of the intendant, to be hung to the gibbet, after having made the *amende honorable* before the great door of a Catholic church. His nephew was to be present at the execution, then to be sent to the galleys, with other Protestants convicted of having accompanied the minister in his nightly excursions. This took place in 1756.

In the region of Montauban, the soldiers committed violences which did not always terminate without effusion of blood; and the Parliament of Toulouse thought proper to enjoin upon all persons married in the Desert to separate immediately, under pain of fine and corporal punishment. This was to dissolve at a blow thousands of families, or to constrain them to pay for the benediction of the priest by sacrilegious acts of Catholicity. They did not submit, but there was trouble and anguish at the firesides of the Protestants. The decree of parliament made them wretches, not Catholics.

The province of the Béarn, formerly so oppressed, the first of the provinces where Louis XIII. had forcibly reinstalled Catholicism and Louvois organized the dragoonades, experienced new calamities in 1757 and 1758. The governor put his troops at the disposition of the clergy. The Protestants of Orthez, Salies, Bellocq, fled into the mountains, and more than a hundred persons were ordered to be arrested. The curates were generally extremely severe in the trials to which they subjected the Protestants. Those of Orthez, besides considerable gifts, which were to be guaranteed before a notary, made the betrothed wait one year, two years, before blessing their marriage. There was one priest who imposed a delay of twelve years.

In the Guyenne, the Protestants of St. Foy, Bergerac, Tonneins, Clairac, and other places, had dragoons to lodge, fines to

pay, vexations of every kind to endure. The ideas of *rebaptization* and *rebenediction* were not abandoned even in 1758.

The Parliament of Bordeaux (Montesquieu, it is true, was not there more than two years and a half) ordered a reprint of the declaration of 1724, sent it to all the curates of the district to be publicly read, and made in the month of November, 1757, a decree directing those who had been married by the ministers, or even *by the ecclesiastics other than their own curates*, to separate immediately; forbidding them to meet on pain of severe punishment; libelling their cohabitation with the name of concubinage; declaring their children illegitimate, and as such incapable of all direct succession; enjoining, in fine, upon all fathers, mothers, and guardians, to send their children to the schools and Catholic catechisms till the age of fourteen years, and to the instructions of Sundays and feast-days till the age of twenty years.¹

To crown these tyrannical proceedings, this decree was published for several days at the Hôtel of the Bourse of Bordeaux, where the most respectable Protestants were assembled: "a circumstance," says a petition we have before us, "which, on the one hand, so greatly dejected them, that the trouble it caused in their commercial operations nearly destroyed their credit, and which, on the other, served only to render them objects of hate or contempt to the lower classes, who are always extreme in their feelings and reckless in their proceedings."

"It is not," said the petitioners further, "the offices and honors which we regret; it rests with your majesty to dispense

¹ A word of explanation upon the restriction made in reference to *the ecclesiastics autres que les propres curés*: it is, that there were already some priests, either complaisant or avaricious, who consecrated the marriages of the Protestants at a stipulated price, and without any vouchers. Their number increased as morals were more at variance with the laws. This became a sort of public market; but the rich alone could profit by it. Many of the Protestants, besides, by an honorable impulse of conscience, would not even accept the appearance of hypocrisy, by asking the registration of their marriage on the records of the priest.

these at your pleasure ; but we claim the rights which Nature has given us, and which should be sacred in all religions. We must no longer conceal it from you :—there are, sire, in the district of the Parliament of Bordeaux more than fifty thousand marriages which are exposed to the sentence ; and among these marriages there are some so old, that a great number have given birth to ten or twelve children. Contemplate, sire, how many citizens are reduced at a blow to the deepest despair !”

The Protestants at last came to the political question : “ When a neighboring State, jealous of the prosperity of your arms, vainly endeavored, in the month of September last, to penetrate into Saintonge and Aunis, who of your subjects showed more zeal than the Protestants in repulsing a proud and reckless foe ? Your generals rendered them justice in this respect. Are not your armies on land and sea now made up of Protestant soldiers, officers, and sailors, who distinguish themselves by their eminent and unwavering bravery and loyalty in every trial ?” (January 3d, 1758.)

This petition did not arrest the sentence of the Parliament of Bordeaux : it was followed by cruel iniquities. The Senechal of Nerac condemned five Protestants to the galleys ; one of them an old man of eighty years. Others, in greater numbers, were confined in the prisons of the Guyenne, Perigord, and Agenois. The Protestants of Sainte-Foy and Bergerac, besides the devastation committed by the garrisons, were obliged to pay more than forty thousand livres. But they dared not execute the sentence to the letter :—the rich merchants of Bordeaux had hinted at the idea of emigration in their complaints, and the interest of the treasury extorted from them what the fanaticism of the priests and the despotism of the court refused.

XIII.

We have deferred till now speaking of the venerable minister, Paul Ribaut, because he belongs to two periods; and his long career is connected with the times of persecution, and with those of tolerance. Paul Ribaut furnished for half a century the most exalted and complete type of the true servant of Christ. He was firm and self-possessed, bold and reserved, as inflexible in matters of religion as yielding in purely civil affairs; and this rare assemblage of different qualities gave to him the greatest influence over the churches of the Desert.

Paul Ribaut was born at Bédarieux, near Montpellier, the 9th of January, 1718, of a respectable family of merchants, who loved to welcome proscribed pastors. It was in their conversations that he felt the first impulse for the evangelical ministry, or, as Antoine Court said, his vocation for martyrdom. He was grave, studious, diligent, pious, above all, which induced his first schoolmaster to surname him *the minister of Charenton*.

From the age of sixteen years, he became, with his friend Jean Pradel, the companion of the ministers of the Desert. He shared their labors, and emulated their endurance. Happy in suffering with them for the cause of his Divine Master, he began, without the title and character of pastor, to instruct his brethren, reading the Bible in the assemblies, exhorting the faithful in domestic gatherings, encouraging some, consoling others, and serving as an example to all.

But this noviciate, useful as it was, was not enough. The churches needed pastors able to cope with an intelligent and profound theology—errors within, and objections without. Paul Ribaut knew it, and, in 1740, went to study at the Seminary

of Lausanne. He was there received as a son by Antoine Court, who soon detected in the boy the man most worthy to fill his place in the government of the flocks of the Desert.

On his return in 1743, he was appointed pastor at Nismes, and, reckoning from this moment, he occupied the high place he filled till his death in 1795. His colleagues confided in him implicitly, and consulted him on all trying occasions. His room of study, which was often but a hut of stones in the depth of the forest, became the centre of Protestant affairs. All the faithful venerated him, and, when persecution began to rage again, they turned instinctively to him, as the mariner to the light-house in the storm.

Every body knew he had embraced the pastoral career only from devotion, and that he was anxious only for the good of religion. He thus explains himself in a letter addressed, in 1746, to the Intendant Lenain : " In devoting myself to the exercise of the ministry in this kingdom, I am not ignorant to what I am exposed ; for I regarded myself as devoted to death. I thought I could do the greatest good I was capable of by devoting myself to the ministry. The Protestants, deprived of the free exercise of their religion, feeling that they ought not to attend the exercises of the Roman religion, unable to procure books which they needed for their instruction—judge, my lord, what would be their state if they were entirely deprived of pastors. They would be strangers to their most essential duties : they would fall either into fanaticism, a fruitful source of extravagance and disorders, or into indifference and contempt for all religion."

Pastor Kéroul, who was condemned to death by the laws, served more than any other man to divert the Protestants from desperate designs, and to strengthen, perhaps in the wile of the eighteenth century, was more useful to his country. Not

only in the synods, where he maintained the authority of a wise discipline, but still more in private interviews, he never ceased to recommend obedience to the laws and the magistrates, allowing no other exception than that of worshipping God according to his own conscience.

We read in his letters that he always prevented, and with all his influence, the carrying of arms into the assemblies. At the time of the tragic affair of the pastor Désubas, when thousands of the peasants burned to avenge the blood of their brethren murdered at Vernoux, he invoked religion, humanity, the duty of submission, all the most powerful motives, Christian faith, and law, to make them lay down their arms. He did the same in the insurrection which had begun, in the time of the general rebaptization, upon the banks of the Gardon.

He wrote on this subject to the heads of the province: "When I desired to know whence the evil proceeded, I learned that many persons, who were exposed to the loss of their property or liberty, or to the performance of acts contrary to their conscience, on account of their marriages or the baptism of their children, and unable to leave the kingdom and secure liberty of conscience, abandoned themselves to despair, and assaulted several priests, since they regarded them as the first and principal cause of the troubles they suffered. I repeat that I blame these people, at the same time I thought proper to unfold to you the cause of their despair. If it is believed that my ministry is necessary to calm the agitation, I will lend it cheerfully. Especially if I can assure the Protestants of this country that they will not be tormented for conscience' sake, I would unhesitatingly assure you that the discontented, if there be any, would be restrained by the great mass of the people." (21st August, 1752.)

It is thus that he won the esteem of the Catholics and the veneration of the Protestants. They were certain that he would de-

cide all religious questions with that discreet moderation which, without relaxing the obligations of the faith, would never provoke unreasonably the severity of power.

When the minister of war passed through Languedoc, he had the boldness to present to him a petition for the king. It was the 19th of September, 1752, between Nismes and Montpellier. Having stopped at a *relai de poste*, the Marquis de Paulmy beheld a stranger approaching him with a grave and respectful air, holding a paper in his hand. He gave his name as Rabaut—it was the name of an outlaw. The minister might have arrested and even executed him on the spot, but he admired the noble firmness of the pastor, took off his hat before him, received the petition, and promised to place it under the eyes of the king. It is said that he kept his word.

The Intendant of the Languedoc had decided not to insist upon the arrest of Paul Ribaut, because the trial and the execution of a pastor so venerated would have spread great agitation throughout the province. But, believing that the assemblies would cease with his departure, he endeavored to make him leave the realm, and resorted to various means to accomplish it. Sometimes he offered to release a certain number of prisoners as the price of his expatriation, sometimes he persecuted his wife, Madeleine Gaidan, whose name deserves to be associated with that of her husband. She never gave him counsels, which might have been expected from a woman, and chose rather to lead a wandering life, with her aged mother and her children, than to exhort Ribaut to abandon the post where God had placed him. The Duke de Mirepoix was ashamed of these disgraceful persecutions, and permitted Madeleine Gaidan, after two years of torments, to return to Nismes.

Paul Ribaut remained, nevertheless, under the ban of the ordinances which punished pastors with death. "During more

than thirty years," says one of his biographers, "he lived only in caves, huts, and cabins, from which he was hunted like a wild beast. He inhabited for a long time a secure hiding-place, which one of his faithful guides had prepared, under a mass of stones and brambles. It was discovered by a shepherd, and such was his distress when forced to abandon it, he regretted the loss of this asylum, more fit for wild beasts than for men."¹

He assumed all sorts of names and disguises, as did the Catholic priests in the Days of Terror. He was M. Paul, M. Denis, M. Pastourel, M. Théophile, going to discharge the functions of his ministry in the dress of a merchant or a baker-boy.

We can scarcely indicate the number and greatness of his labors. He wrote to one of his friends at Geneva, in 1755, that, being occupied during the day with a multiplicity of affairs, he was often compelled to work a great part of the night; then he said, with that humility which characterizes eminent men: "When I think of the divine enthusiasm which, I will not say Jesus Christ and the Apostles, but the Reformers and their immediate successors, kindled for the salvation of souls, it seems to me that, in comparison with them, we are but ice. Their immense labors astonish me, and at the same time make me blush. How I should love to resemble them in every thing commendable!"

From the seclusion of his retreat (a new characteristic of these troublous times) he entered into correspondence with a prince of the blood. The influence of philosophic ideas, the desire to become a defender of one of the hostile parties, or only, perhaps, the burden of idleness, induced the Prince de Conti to interest himself in the fate of the Protestants. He wanted information from Paul Ribaut, and even invited him to come and confer

¹ J. Pons, *Notices biographiques*, etc.

with him. The pastor set out secretly for Paris, in the month of July, 1755.

He had two interviews with the prince, and stated the following points: That the galley-slaves, the prisoners for religion, and children of both sexes confined in the convents or seminaries, should be set at liberty; that the baptisms and marriages celebrated by the ministers should be valid, on the condition of being registered in the offices which the king pleased to establish; that the exercise of worship should be permitted, if not in the temples, at least in private houses, at some distance from the towns and boroughs; finally, that everybody should be allowed to sell his real estate without special authorization, and that the refugees should have the right to re-enter the kingdom.

Nothing could be more modest, surely, than these demands. It was not the full liberty of religion; it was not even a liberal tolerance. The Catholics of Ireland have never had less: they had already more in the eighteenth century. The Prince of Conti, however, did not think he could obtain so much from the council and clergy, and these negotiations were fruitless.

Paul Ribaut returned to his work in Languedoc. "He was," says the author we have cited, "of small stature; he had a dark complexion, a mild physiognomy and look, great gravity in his deportment, extreme affability, simple and patriarchal manners. He was very frugal in his repasts. His admirable patience was tested by numerous trials. The wandering and hard life he had been compelled to lead from his youth, by embracing a proscribed religion, had strengthened his constitution; but his perfect devotion to his flock taxed too severely his powers, and he felt the effects of it in his old age."

From all parts the people crowded to hear his discourses. "We are assured," says another biographer, "that his audience was sometimes composed of ten or twelve thousand of the faith-

ful. But his voice was so powerful and distinct, that even in the open field it reached the most distant, and all could carry to their homes the useful instructions of the pastor. He prayed with a fervor and unction which penetrated all hearts, and inspired a disposition which fitted his hearers to listen to his preaching with advantage. He often preached *ex tempore*, and his wild and uncultivated eloquence seemed to become still more sublime."¹

Some of Paul Ribaut's manuscript sermons have been preserved. They are not distinguished, it is said, by oratorical genius, nor elegance of style—time was wanting to the venerable pastor. But we find in them much order, mildness, clearness, and unction;—it was the simple and paternal style adapted to the assemblies of the Desert.

XIV.

Towards the year 1760 the persecution sensibly relented. The laws of intolerance had not been abrogated, but they fell into disuse, because the lights, the opinions, the interest of the State, the relations of industry and of society, were constantly drawing the Catholics and Protestants closer together. Differences of religion were more and more effaced before the common nationality of Frenchmen.

The clergy perceived it with sorrow; and in their general assembly of 1760, they addressed to the king earnest remonstrances against these mitigations of the laws and customs: "Almost all the barriers opposed to Calvinism," said they, "have been successively broken down. The ministers, the preachers, educated

¹ *Archives du Christianisme*, t. IX. p. 293.

in the heretical schools and in foreign countries, have overrun several of our provinces. They have held consistories and synods, and have continually presided at assemblies, sometimes in secret, sometimes more openly. They baptize there; they administer the Lord's Supper; they preach error; they marry. At first, only the power was asked for the Calvinists to celebrate their marriages in a civil and secular form; and although they pretended to confine themselves to this permission, it was evident that this would open the way for the full tolerance of Calvinism. At this day they preach this tolerance more loudly!"

Tolerance was, in the eyes of the priests, an impious and immoral maxim. But they were left to their talk, and the nation went forward in its new course.

Military and civil authorities, governors, intendants, deputies, officers, magistrates, were ashamed, both before the tribunal of their own conscience, and before that of public opinion, to persecute men whom they regarded as honest and good citizens. Rulhières cites some curious examples: "The troops themselves," said he, "mitigated the inhumanity of the orders which they executed. Officers delayed the march of their detachments to give the assembled Protestants time for flight. They took care to show themselves a long time before they could reach their destination. They marched by wrong roads to mislead their soldiers."¹

Sometimes they even summoned the Protestants, in an official manner, to return to the strict observation of the edicts; but it was a final discharge of artillery after a lost battle.

Thus, in 1761, the Marshal de Thomond, called to the government of Languedoc, directed the Calvinists to have their marriages and the baptisms of their children resolemnized within

¹ T. II. p. 347.

six days. They were astonished: they were not affrighted. No one anticipated the renewal of a serious conflict. Indeed, the simple force of inertia prevented the measure, and the marshal himself agreed to transmit to Louis XV. the petitions of the pastors. In three months the affair was forgotten.

Two synods had been convoked in Lower Languedoc in 1760. The one was composed of twenty pastors and fifty-four elders, the other of fifteen pastors and thirty-eight elders. These reunions were not publicly announced, but were no longer held in secret;—they evaded the law, carefully veiling appearances.

As persecution relaxed, the language of the leaders of the churches became stronger—which resulted from the very nature of things. Paul Ribaut, and his colleague Paul Vincent, addressed, in 1761, a pastoral letter to the Protestants of Nismes, exhorting them to abstain from *the least act of adherence to the Roman Church*. No more attendance at mass, no marriage consecrated by the priest, no Catholic baptism, even when the curates relaxed their strictness; entire and constant fidelity to the practices of the Reformed faith. The pastors only did their duty; they could not demand less, since it is the essence of every religion to supply the wants of its followers. The Roman clergy did the same thing after the 9th Thermidor.

Religious assemblies became more regular. They approached the towns and villages; for *proximity*, in the common expression, augmented greatly the number of the hearers. These meetings, in certain places, were held, so to speak, under the eye of the magistrates. The Protestants of Nismes celebrated their worship within cannon-shot of the citadel, and those of Montauban in the faubourgs.

From 1755 the Protestants in the galleys at Toulon, the captives confined in the different provinces of the kingdom, the female prisoners of the tower of Constance, more easily obtained

their freedom, but only one by one, and often, it must be said, by the intervention of foreign personages, or by paying money. The liberation of a convict for the cause of religion was at once granted, if a letter was brought from Voltaire or a Protestant prince; if not, it cost a thousand crowns; afterwards they paid two thousand livres—the rate of ransom diminishing in proportion as the standard of public morals rose. There were still, in 1759, forty-one galley-slaves, whose only crime was that of having attended the assemblies of the Desert, or extended hospitality to a pastor.

This encouraging state of things was, however, disturbed, and in a horrible manner, by capital executions, one of which brought down four heads, and the other that of a venerable old man. The city of Toulouse, where, in 1532, one of the first funeral piles was erected against the disciples of the Reformation, had the sad privilege, in 1762, of shedding the last blood for the crime of heresy.

Toulouse, which has greatly improved since that time, had then little intellectual energy or industry. It was inhabited by nobles and men of parliament, who slavishly bowed beneath their traditional prejudices. Besides, legions of priests and monks swarmed around them—more Spaniards, it seems, than French, who, by their processions, relics, and fraternities, kept up an abject superstition. Below them was an ignorant and fanatical populace. Every year the Church celebrated with splendor, at Toulouse, the great massacre of 1562, the St. Bartholomew of the South. This was the scene of the last executions.

A pastor of twenty-five years, Francis Rochette, who served the numerous churches of Quercy, was on his way to the mineral waters of Saint-Antonin, to repose from his fatigues. Being invited, on the way, to administer baptism, he traversed the

country in the environs of the little town of Caussade, in the night of the 13th and 14th of September, 1761, when he was arrested, with two peasants who were his guides. They were suspected as belonging to a band of robbers who infested the country. The mistake was soon discovered; and Rochette, not having been surprised in the exercise of his functions, might have been set at liberty by concealing his ministerial character. Those who interrogated him even indicated this means of acquittal, but he refused to purchase his deliverance by the smallest disavowal of the truth.

In the morning, the news of his arrest spread through the whole country with the rapidity of lightning. The Protestants, afflicted, uneasy, assembled together; they earnestly solicited the liberation of their pastor. It was a market-day: the town of Caussade swarmed with people. The Catholics imagined that the Huguenots had taken up arms, and were eager for a massacre. On all sides they sound the tocsin. The villages arise *en masse*, and the Catholic peasants put a white cross on their hat, as did the butchers of St. Bartholomew. The night of the 14th and 15th was spent in casting balls, in making cartridges, and many a curate worked like the rest. The next day an immense multitude stood ready for a scene of blood, and the magistrates could hardly restrain them.

Three noblemen of the district of Foix, the brothers Grenier, were then at Montauban. They heard that the Pastor Rochette was arrested, that the Protestants were threatened, and that a terrible struggle was imminent. They hastened to the danger, with the first arms which fell in their hands, a sabre and two guns. They were pursued, hunted down by butcher-dogs, arrested, and dragged to the prison of Rochette. The Parliament of Toulouse took cognizance of the affair, as if the matter were a State crime, and the trial was conducted with marked passion.

It was in vain that Paul Ribaut and his colleagues, astounded at a severity which seemed to have passed away, addressed petitions to the Duke de Richelieu, to the Duke de Fitz-James, to Marie-Adélaïde of France. It was in vain that the accused sent to the court long memorials of vindication. A decree, given the 18th of February, 1762, condemned to death François Rochette, as charged and convicted of having performed the functions of a Protestant minister, and the three brothers Grenier, as guilty of the crime of sedition, by bearing arms. The others, poor peasants, who had not committed the shadow of a crime, were condemned to the galleys.

When this sentence was read to Rochette and the three noblemen: "Ah, well!" said they, with the same voice, "we must die. Let us pray God to accept the sacrifice we offer him." The pastor made a prayer with his friends, and the clerk of the court, a witness of their faith, wept.

Four curates came to exhort them to recant, and one of them threatened them with hell, if they persisted in their heresies: "We are going to appear," answered the pastor, "before a juster Judge than you—before the One who poured out his blood to save us."

They employed the time in prayer, in pious exhortations, and in fortifying each other for the final conflict. Sentinels and jailers, all the attendants, were affected by their noble and calm resignation. Rochette, seeing a soldier more moved than the rest, said to him: "My friend, are you not ready to die for the king? Why, then, do you pity me, dying for God?"

The curates came again to importune them. "It is for your salvation," said they, "that we are here." One of the noblemen replied to them: "If you were at Geneva, ready to die in your bed, (for they kill no one for his religion there,) would you like to have four ministers, under pretext of zeal, harass you to

your last breath? Do not, then, unto others what you would not have them do unto you."

The 19th of February, at two o'clock P. M., the mournful *cortège* began to move. Rochette, according to the directions of the sentence, went barefooted, bareheaded, a rope round his neck, labelled before and behind with these words: "*Ministre de la religion prétendue réformée*."

On passing the Church of St. Etienne, they wished to force him, ever according to the terms of the parliament's sentence, to make the *amende honorable* on his knees, with a torch of yellow wax in his hand, and to ask pardon of God, the king and court, for his crimes and misdemeanors.

Rochette descended from the cart, and, instead of an abjuration, or a confession which his heart would have given the lie to, he pronounced, on his knees, the following words: "I ask pardon of God for all my sins, and I firmly believe I shall be washed in the blood of Christ, who has redeemed us at a great price. I have no pardon to ask of the king; I have always honored him as the anointed of the Lord; I have always loved him as the father of the country; I have always been a good and loyal subject, and the judges have appeared to me well convinced of it. I have always preached to my flock patience, obedience, submission, and my sermons, which are in their hands, are briefly comprehended in these words: *Fear God, honor the king*. If I have disregarded his laws touching religious assemblies, it is because God ordered me to disregard them. We should obey God rather than men. As to the court, I have not offended it, and I pray God to pardon my judges."

At the place of execution, all the avenues, doors, balconies, windows, roofs of the houses, were covered with people. "Toulouse," says Court de Gébélín, an eye-witness, who has furnished

us these details, "Toulouse, that city drunk with blood, looked like a Protestant city. Every one inquired what was the belief of these heretics; and when they heard our martyrs speak of Jesus Christ and of his death, all the people were surprised and sorrowful. Besides, they were extremely touched with the mixture of nobleness and mildness which the three brothers exhibited. They admired no less the inexpressible serenity of the minister. His complexion unchanged, his physiognomy full of grace and spirit, his words rich with confidence and firmness, his very youth, every thing about him, was interesting, especially the certainty which all the people felt that he perished only because he was unwilling to save his life by a lie."

Rochette was executed first. He exhorted his companions to the last, and sang the song of the Protestant Martyrs: *This is the happy day*. "Die Catholic," said the executioner, moved with compassion. "Judge which is the best religion," responded Rochette to him, "that which persecutes, or that which is persecuted."¹

The youngest of the three brothers Grenier (he was only twenty-two years of age) hid his face in his hands at this tragic scene. The two others contemplated it with a calm face. As noblemen, they must be beheaded. They embraced each other in commending their souls to God. The eldest first offered his head to the axe. When it was the turn of the last, the executioner said to him: "You have just seen your brothers perish; recant, that you may not die with them." "Do your duty," replied the martyr, and his head fell.

Court de Gébélín adds, in closing his account: "All those present returned home in silence and consternation, scarcely able to persuade themselves that there was so much courage and so

¹ *Les Toulousaines*, letter XXII.

much cruelty in the world ; and, as for me who write for you, I cannot avoid weeping with sadness and with joy, while thinking on their happy destiny, and that our Church should be still capable of offering examples of piety and firmness comparable to the most honored of any which the records of the primitive church afford."

Eighteen days after, the 9th of March, 1762, the scaffold was re-erected for the execution of Jean Calas, an old man of sixty-eight years. This trial has rang throughout the world, and all the circumstances are too well known to need repetition here. It is known that the unfortunate Calas was accused of having killed his son, Mark Anthony, to prevent him, they said, from embracing the Catholic faith. It is known that the priests of Toulouse inflamed the fanaticism of the populace, by bearing in a procession the corpse of this young man, who had committed suicide, and in representing him upon a catafalco, by the side of a skeleton, which held in one hand a roll, on which was written, *Abjuration de l'hérésie*, and in the other, the crown of martyrdom. It is known, finally, that the magistracy and the clergy accused Calvin and his disciples of making infanticide for the cause of abjuration lawful, and pretended that the murder of the young Calas had been resolved upon, in a conventicle of Protestants.

These calumnies, as absurd as they were odious, were so firmly believed by the phrensied populace, that the advocate of Calas was obliged to order from Geneva a solemn declaration, signed by the pastors and professors, attesting that neither synod, nor any assembly whatever of the Reformed party, had ever approved the doctrine that a father had the right to kill his child, to prevent a change of religion. Paul Ribaut published, under this title, *La calomnie confondue*, a work in which he repelled the charge with all the vehemence of a soul profoundly indignant

at such execrable allegations. But the Parliament of Toulouse replied only by ordering this book to be torn in pieces and burnt by the hand of the executioner.

In the most horrible sufferings of the rack, Calas made no confession, because he had none to make. "Where there is no crime," said he, continually, "there are no accessories." He suffered death with the serenity of innocence and the fortitude of faith. His execution (he had been condemned to be broken on the wheel alive) lasted two hours. He uttered only words of piety and charity, pardoning his judges, and only expressing regret for the young Lavaïsse, who had been involved in his fate.

"My dear brother," said Father Bourges to him, "you have but an instant longer to live. By that God whom you invoke, in whom you hope, and who has died for you, I conjure you to give glory to the truth." "I have spoken," replied Calas; "I die innocent. Jesus Christ, innocence itself, was willing to die a still more cruel death."

"Wretched man," cried one of his judges, "behold the funeral pile which will reduce thy body to ashes: speak the truth." The old man made no answer; he turned his head aside, and received the fatal blow.

"Father Bourges and Father Caldagnès," writes Court de Gebelin, in his twenty-third *Toussaintine*, "were honest men. These two monks bestowed on his memory the greatest eulogiums. Although Calas died a Protestant, they have said to everybody: *C'est un bon martyr.*"

The widow and the children of Calas appealed against this sanguinary judgment. Voltaire supported them with his powerful voice which rang out clear over the chambers of the age. The most celebrated advocates, Messrs de Beaumes, Mariette, Loyseau de Marbois, intervened, and the 24th of March, 1763, three years to a day, after the fatal execution, a decree of the council

annulled that of the Parliament of Toulouse by a unanimous vote of fifty. The sentence which reinstated the Calas family wrested from the hands of fanaticism its blood-stained axe, and imprinted on its front a mark which will never be effaced.

XV.

We find in the close of this period a counterpart of the last years of the preceding one. A century before, from 1660 to 1685, each day had given birth to new acts of tyranny, and increased the weight of the yoke on the neck of the Protestants. From 1760 to 1787, on the contrary, each day lightened their burden. Four generations of persecutors and victims had died in the interval.

The bloody executions which we have just related, far from hurting the Reformed churches, turned to their advantage. Good men were ashamed to imitate, even faintly, the judges and priests of Toulouse. They became tolerant from regard for honor, as well as from a sentiment of justice. The Prince de Beauveau, who had succeeded the Marshal de Thomond in the government of Languedoc, was honest, humane, generous, and religious. He had interviews with the patriarch of the Desert, Paul Ribaut, and accorded to the Protestants all that he could give them under the *régime* of the laws of intolerance.

Fifteen months after the death of Rochette and Calas, in June, 1763, a National Synod was held in Languedoc. All the provinces, except those of the north, were represented. The pastors and elders, fortified by the general opinion, addressed a new petition to the king, and held a firmer language in speaking to their co-religionists. "All the members of the synod," said they, "have renewed with a holy earnestness, as well in their name as

in the name of their provinces, the solemn promise to unite with all their power in maintaining . . . this union, so just and so advantageous, by persevering to profess the same faith, celebrate the same worship, practise the same morals, exercise the same discipline, and lend mutual assistance, which demonstrates that, like the first Christians, they were of one heart and one soul."

Local or individual vexations afflicted the churches, but without alarming them or disturbing their repose. In the Poitou and elsewhere, the faithful had prepared for themselves houses of prayer; these were demolished by order of the public authority, and even military quarterings were imposed on a few families. The same was done also in the Béarn—puerile parody of the dragoonades. In the district of Foix, the Protestants had opened some schools; these were suppressed. At Nismes they brought seats to attend worship, and went in procession; this was forbidden. These shufflings were the last breath of expiring intolerance.

We cite one religious assembly which was surprised and attacked in 1767, near Orange. Eight Protestant notables submitted to be taken, and accepted the common responsibility. The officer who had arrested them was more embarrassed than his captives. He offered them the means of escape. "No," replied they, "it belongs to the public authority to set us at liberty." At the end of two months they were released.

In the same year, 1767, the pastor Berengen was condemned to death by the Parliament of Grenoble; but he had escaped. They executed him in effigy at the town of Mens. Two pastors, finally, were arrested in the Brie, in 1773, and thrown into prison. One of them died at the end of nine days; the other was liberated, but sent into the Guyenne by *lettre de cachet*.

There were Protestant galley-slaves at Toulon even in 1769: shameful contradiction, to retain wretches in chains for acts

which the government had ceased to punish. It was at last understood, and all were set at liberty. At the same time, the old tower of Constance, at Aigues-Mortes, was opened. Some of the females whom it contained were in extreme old age, and had passed there more than half their life.

The oppressor the hardest to conquer was the exchequer. If there were no more imprisonments, they were yet compelled to pay heavy fines and submit to ruinous extortions. The Protestants were ground down, sometimes by the administrative power, sometimes by the judicial, and paid, in one way or another, double taxes, only a very small part of which entered the coffers of the State.

Many flocks, till then unheard of, because they were concealed in the sanctuary of the domestic roof, began to reappear. Lyons and Marseilles had pastors. Sancerre, Orléans, Nanteuil en Brie, Asnières, and the Protestants of Picardy and Artois attempted to reconstruct an ecclesiastical organization.

Normandy was more advanced. It had two or three pastors, Louis Campredon, Jean Godefroy, and a minister of the Dauphiny, Alexander Ranc, who had been settled for two years. The little town of Bolbec was the centre of this Protestant population. It appears that the seizures of young girls continued there after the year 1760; for we read, in a petition of the inhabitants of Bolbec, to whom Louis XV. had granted an exemption from taxes, to aid them in rebuilding their town destroyed by a great fire: "Sire, what will it serve us to have our houses erected, if we are not sure of being able to inhabit them with our families?" (1763.)

At Paris the Protestants celebrated worship according to the form of the Church of Holland—neutral forms, which allowed them to discharge their duties to God without openly violating the ordinances.

One or two general agents, supported from the purse of the Protestants, were maintained near the ministry. They were not clothed with an official character, nor could they be; but their intervention was publicly accepted, and they gave their advice in all important affairs. This mission was intrusted, in 1763, to Court de Gébelin, son of the pastor Antoine Court.

He had inherited from his father a great devotion for the cause of the Reformed churches. An upright, laborious man, connected with men of letters, known by his philological works, he brought to the service of his co-religionists and his numerous social relations an indefatigable activity. He was esteemed at court; he was sought for in the world; and if he died too soon to be a witness of the abolition of the edicts of Louis XIV., he contributed powerfully to bring it about.

The Protestants, however, were in a singular position at the time to which we have arrived. Nothing definitive nor regular: moral order was effected by legal disorder. Arbitrary power everywhere prevailed; long mazes were threaded to elude the letter of the laws without directly violating them: the pastors half proscribed, half recognized, neither public nor private persons; the civil state of so great a number of Frenchmen resting at the hazard of uncertain chances; justice vacillating and contradictory; royalty saying that it must do something, and doing nothing; subaltern agents of the Church and State using for their profit this precarious and disordered establishment to make shameful bargains;—such a situation of things we must hope, for the honor of France, we shall never see again.

The political writers and philosophers of the eighteenth century contributed powerfully to the triumph of toleration; but it was not, we must avow, from zeal or sympathy for the fate of the French Protestants. Although they were prompt to raise delicate and bold questions, they did not attack the cruel ordinances

of Louis XIV., and appeared never to have heard of the protracted sufferings of more than a million of their fellow-citizens.

Montesquieu, who speaks of every thing in his *Lettres Persanes*, does not mention the oppressed Huguenots. In his *Esprit des lois* he seems rather their opposer than advocate; for, under a jealous monarchy, he accuses the Calvinists of leaning towards republican institutions; and when he is anxious to advocate tolerance, he puts his argument in the mouth of a Jewess of Lisbon. He says, elsewhere: "This is the fundamental principle of political law—of religion itself. When there is liberty of receiving or not into the State a new religion, it should not be established; when it is established, it must be tolerated."¹

This was to leave the question for the Protestants of France undecided; for the laws denied, in fact, that they were established in the kingdom.

Helvétius, Diderot, D'Alambert, gave them no word of kindness. Rousseau, the son of the city of Calvin, attacked Catholicism much more than he defended Protestantism. We learn in his correspondence, that he was invited by some of his friends to write in behalf of the victims of the laws of Louis XIV., and that he refused. He took only the pains to trace, in a few lines, a plan of defence, but did not execute it; and in his *Contrat social* he maintained the principle of a State religion.

Voltaire served the Protestants in the affair of Calas and by his Treatise on Tolerance, but he never investigated with care the sufferings of that great oppressed people, and seemed to have little anxiety for their redress. In his book on the *Age of Louis XIV.* he speaks of Calvinism in a trifling manner, and dwells on little curious details rather than on important matters. In his *Summary of the Age of Louis XV.* he unfolds, at length,

¹ Book XXV. c. X.

the contentions about the bull *Unigenitus*, the refusal of the sacraments, the expulsion of the Jesuits; but of the Protestants he says not a single word.

Many causes can explain this indifference. The Huguenots (we believe we have already mentioned it) bore the penalty, not of the evil they did, but of that which was done to them. After having cut them off violently from the rest of the French nation, they were considered as strangers whose misfortunes merited no look of sympathy, and their isolation permitted their adversaries to utter against them, from generation to generation, calumnies which were readily believed even by cultivated men.

Besides, we may say, the writers of the philosophical school had no love for the doctrines of Calvinism. They felt a repugnance to the austere principles and rigid discipline maintained in the Reformed churches. Catholicism and Protestantism were for them but two forms of the same superstitions. There is a saying of Voltaire which characterizes well what he thought. When a Protestant was presented to him whom he had delivered from the penitentiary of Toulon by a letter addressed to the Duke de Choiseul: "What did they want to do with you?" said he. "What a conscience, to put in chains and send to the galleys a man who had committed no other crime than praying to God in bad French!"

The pastors of the Desert, it may be imagined, were not very eager to apply for support to the philosophers; they feared the influence which might be exercised by such auxiliaries on their flocks, and perhaps on themselves. The pastor Pierre Encontre wrote, on the subject of the treatise of tolerance, to Paul Ri-baut: "As for myself, who have read it very hastily, I have found much good, but mixed with poison." And the firm defender of the Protestant faith said, in his turn: "Overwhelmed with grief in seeing the disorders of the impious books of the

infidels, I can find comfort only in the thought that so lamentable a state will not long endure." (1769.)

But if the philosophers could leave in forgetfulness the condition of the Protestants, the legislators, the members of parliament, and men of State, were forced to regard it. The fiction of the new converts had become untenable. Not a single magistrate of good faith persisted in believing, on the letter of the legal text, that there were none but Catholics in France, and the hope of bringing children to Catholicism by the constraint exercised over fathers had been too completely disappointed to admit of future reliance.

The further they advanced in the century, the more the baptisms and marriages of the Desert increased. Whether the priests were exacting or not in their examinations, this question, very grave in the first fifty years after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had lost all its importance. At any cost, the Protestants would no longer allow the intrusion of the Catholic clergy in their religious duties.

What was to be done? Births, marriages, burials, every thing was in disorder, without guarantee, for a great part of the nation, and there existed on these matters a striking diversity of jurisprudence. One parliament confirmed, on a certificate of a pastor, the marriages consecrated in the Desert; another annulled them, and collateral kindred shamelessly sullied the precincts of the tribunals in claiming successions to which, according to eternal justice, which spoke louder than unjust ordinances, they had no right. It was an intolerable confusion.

But something was to be decided; the problem was much more difficult than could be estimated, or even conceived, at this day. It is only positive and final principles which can clearly solve the question. Perfect religious liberty, entire equality of modes of worship, would have settled all; but no political man

before 1789 had dared to make the proposition. Hence they wearied themselves in inventing half-measures, laborious compromises, which, without according to the Protestants the common right, gave them possession of a civil state.

The magistracy, the clergy, the supreme public administration, and royalty interposed, each from a distinct motive, in this affair, until the promulgation of the edict of 1787.

XVI.

The magistrates, we have elsewhere seen, did not accord with the priests in the extent, nor even, if we look closely, on the nature of the trials to which the pretended converts were subjected. This misunderstanding continued to increase with the struggle which began on other subjects between the judiciary and sacerdotal order. When the parliaments ordered the mandates of the bishops to be burnt, directed the seizure of their temporalities, and decreed the arrest of the curates who troubled the Catholics by their fanatical exactions, it is evident that they were compelled to exercise less severity towards the Protestants, who claimed the sacred rights of liberty of conscience.

It was thought that the quarrels of the parliaments with the clergy would have produced an entirely contrary effect, since the magistrates wished, by the severity of their sentences against the Protestants, to reinstate the Catholic faith, which was endangered by the war made upon the priests. This is correct, but in certain limits, and within a certain period. The general fact is different. The magistracy, in struggling against the clergy, had to consider the limits of ecclesiastical power, to define them, to circumscribe them, in a manner, constantly more definite, and hence to prescribe them, also, for the Dissenters. Tac-

tics sometimes prevailed over right, but law at last triumphed.

The procurator-general, Joly de Fleury, addressed to the council, in 1752, a memorial, in which, although he made his views subject to the fiction of ordinances, made himself the organ of the parliamentary spirit. Let the priest no longer (demanded the illustrious magistrate) be but an officer of the civil State, to register baptisms and marriages; let him add no insulting qualification to the representations which are furnished to him; let him be content with the nuptial benediction, with a simple exhortation, without exacting any abjuration, verbal or written, nor any act which applies specially to the Protestants: all the French are Catholics, according to the law; all must be treated as such, and in the same manner.

In 1755, another procurator-general, whom we have already named, Rippert de Monclar, went further. Releasing himself from the legal fiction, he avows that there are still Protestants in the kingdom, and is alarmed at the idea that a hundred and fifty thousand avaricious relatives could reclaim the heritage of families whose marriages had been consecrated in the Desert. He proposes to remedy this by the publication of *bans* from a court of justice, and the celebration of marriages: "as this is practised in Holland," said he, "with respect to the Catholics." This was to demand for the Protestants of France the separation of the civil from the spiritual power. Rippert de Monclar did not foresee that, thirty-five years after, the measure would be applied to all citizens, without distinction of worship.

In 1766, the Advocate-General Servan advocated before the Parliament of Grenoble the rights of a woman whom her husband wished to abandon, with his children, under the pretext that the marriage of the Desert was void. "This case, in its simple exposition," said the eloquent magistrate, "does not

strike us at first sight. For we behold only a desolate woman ; she is interesting, without doubt, but her cause involves many other interests ; her cause is that of all her sect. All the Protestants, knowing the evils this poor woman has suffered for her religion, await with anxiety a decision which will settle, perhaps, their destiny and her own. Hardly will your sentence be pronounced in these walls, when it will resound even among the rocks of the Cevennes, and the voices of the most rude and obscure will repeat it as a song of peace, or as an order of proscription." The Parliament of Grenoble awarded damages and interests, the only thing which the helpless woman had dared to claim ; but the principle had gone a step further.

In the same year, the old advocate-general and counsellor of State, Gilbert de Voisins, prepared, at the request of Louis XV., reports on the means of securing to the Protestants a civil state in France. He proposed, among other things, to accord to a few ministers revocable safe-conducts, and to authorize private religious exercises. Baptisms and marriages of the Protestants would have thus obtained the double sanction of the civil contract and the religious benediction, without changing at all the uniformity of public worship in the kingdom.

The magistracy adhered to the path it had entered ; and although exhausting itself in inventing strange or impracticable accommodations to reconcile the civil state of the Protestants with the maintenance of an external religious unity, it advanced from year to year in its memorials for the legal reinstatement of the oppressed.

What did the clergy do in face of the progress of tolerance ? Some of its members (throughout this history, we have gathered every thing favorable to them) marched on with the public spirit ; and we speak only of the bishops and philosophic abbés, who became tolerant by fashion or through indifference. The

venerable bishop of the diocese which numbered the most Protestants, M. de Becdelièvre, manifested for forty-five years great moderation, and, at his death, he merited the eulogiums of Rabaut-Saint-Etienne. The abbé and doctor of theology, Bourlet-Vauxelles, said, in the panegyric of St. Louis, which he pronounced in 1762, before the French Academy: "The God of peace does not permit those to be massacred who do not know him." The Abbé Andra employed his influence to legitimate a Protestant marriage before the Parliament of Toulouse. The curate Bastide opened his own house to the pastor Paul Vincent, who was pursued by the soldiers. At last, the Bishop of Langres, M. de la Luzerne, spoke in behalf of the Protestants, in 1787, in the assembly of the Notables: "I like the temples better than their secret meetings," said he, "and the ministers than their random preachers."

We gather all the testimonies of tolerance which we can possibly find in the acts of the Catholic clergy, and, without doubt, many similar acts have escaped our researches. But we must add that the majority of the sacerdotal body obstinately resisted the generous intentions of the court, the parliaments, and the country.

The clergy made Louis XVI., in the ceremony of his consecration, swear the ancient oath to exterminate the heretics denounced by the Church, and M. Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, said to the monarch: "Sire, you will reject the counsels of a false peace, the systems of a culpable tolerance. We conjure you, sire, not to delay to deprive error of the hope of having among us temples and altars. . . . It is reserved for you to give the last blow to Calvinism in your dominions. Order the schismatic assemblies of the Protestants to be dispersed; exclude the sectaries, without distinction, from all the offices of the public administration, and you will consolidate

among your subjects the unity of the true Christian worship."

In 1780, the general assembly of the clergy presented to the king a long memorial on the *encroachments of the Protestants*. It complained that heresy tore the bosom of the Church, *that tender and afflicted mother*; and requested a return *to the salutary means and restraining methods of the glorious days of Louis XIV.* "Once," said the priests, "the Protestants were rigorously excluded from public offices and municipal places; in our times infractions multiply. Once they held no assemblies for the cause of religion; now the holding of assemblies is notorious. Formerly, they were not permitted to preach in public; now every day is marked with new disrespect to our ceremonies and mysteries. . . . It was our duty to bring these alarms to the paternal and pious bosom of your majesty. We cannot go efficaciously to the source of the evil without driving away forever the foreign preachers, and without taking measures to prevent native ones from undertaking for the future the office of pretended pastors."

Thus exclusion of the Protestants from all public offices, banishment of the pastors, dispersion of the assemblies: that is to say, the execution of the most odious edicts of Louis XIV., was demanded; and after having made these requests, the prelates added: "The erring will always be our equals, our fellow-citizens, our brothers, and even our children in respect to religion. We will ever love them, we will cherish them. Far from us be the bare thought of the glaive and the sword."

It is difficult to understand how the conclusions of this memorial harmonize with the premises, since it was an absolute impossibility, an impossibility demonstrated by the experience of more than a century, to prevent fifteen hundred thousand Frenchmen from celebrating their religious worship, except by whelm-
ing them in their blood. But we will not utter here a single

word of bitterness. We shall express, on the contrary, commiseration, sympathy, for these bishops and priests. Alas! many of them were destined to perish in the storms of the revolution. We pity their misfortunes!

An ex-Jesuit, Father Lenfant, published, in 1787, a *Discours for the Council to read on the project of according civil rights to the Protestants*. His language is far more temperate than that of the bishops, and we should never have imagined, before reading this memorial, that it was possible even for the blindest fanatic to crowd into so few pages so many infamous calumnies. The Reformers were considered, under the pen of this ex-Jesuit, impious rebels, wretches, monsters, enemies of all laws, divine and human. We lament, also, over this phrensiad man; he was strangled in the prison of the *Abbaye*, the 3d of September, 1792, and it was doubtless no Protestant hand which held the homicidal axe.

This opposition of the clergy did not arrest the magistracy. It was no longer a barrier for statesmen, who, submitting less to legal traditions than members of the parliaments, and more affected with the injury which the ordinances of Louis XIV. caused the public, went still further than they in their propositions in favor of the Protestants.

From the year 1754, Turgot, who had outstripped his age in so many respects, demanded the separation of the spiritual and the civil in all modes of worship. He put these words in the mouth of the prince: "Although you are in error, I will treat you as my children. Be obedient to the laws; serve the State with loyalty, and you shall find in me the same protection as my other subjects. My mission is to make you all happy." Then, putting the question whether the assemblies of the dissenting people were not dangerous: "Yes," replied he, "so long as they are interdicted; not, when they are authorized by law."

The Baron de Breteuil, a minister of the king, directed Rulhières to compile the *Historical elucidations upon the causes of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, which have often aided us in our researches ; and he presented over his own name to Louis XVI., in 1786, a memorial on the necessity of according to the Protestants civil rights.

But royalty was slow to act a decisive part. Louis XV., indifferent to every thing which did not contribute to his low pleasures, had constantly postponed the serious examination of the question. Louis XVI. was animated with a generous spirit ; but he had a narrow understanding, a conscience easily alarmed by trifling scruples of devotion, a feeble will, and, so to speak, a superstitious fear at the very thought of touching the laws of his predecessors. Louis XIV. had trampled with disdainful foot upon the *perpetual and irrevocable* edict of Henry IV., and Louis XVI. trembled to correct, even in part, the most monstrous injustice of Louis XIV.

It was necessary that Rulhières and the Baron de Breteuil should invent some subtle distinctions to prove that Louis XIV. had not intended to deprive the Protestants of their civil rights ; and, in order still better to assure the conscience of the new king, they represented to him that tolerance was the best means of converting the heretics. "It is not," said they, "to renounce the hope of reuniting the French Calvinists with the Church ; it is to take a more certain step for its attainment ; it is to return to the true path, from which we have too far wandered."

While Louis XVI. was hesitating, public opinion was speaking every day louder. The intimate relations of France with North America contributed to diffuse ideas of civil and religious liberty. General Lafayette, on his return from the war of Independence, went to visit Paul Ribaut at Nismes, embraced the pious old

man, and invited his son Rabaut-Saint-Etienne to go with him to Paris, to advocate there the cause of his brethren.

The upright Malesherbes lent the Protestants the support of his learning and virtue. He wrote in 1785 and 1786 two memorials on the marriage of the Protestants, and added to them a project of law on the subject. "I ought," said he, "to do some good to the Protestants, my ancestor treated them so harshly!" Lamoignon de Malesherbes descended from the ferocious Lamoignon de Bâville.

All these opinions were clearly announced in the assembly of the Notables in 1787. We read in the verbal processes of this assembly: "M. the Marquis de Lafayette proposed to petition his majesty to grant civil rights to the Protestants, and to prescribe the reform of the criminal laws. He asked permission to read a project drawn up on this subject. When the reading was over, his royal highness the Count d'Artois remarked, that the object being entirely foreign to those who were in the committee, it would be a trespass on the powers of the Notables to meddle with it; that, however, he would cheerfully speak of it to the king if it was the opinion of the committee. Consequently, he asked the votes. They were unanimous for adopting the motion of M. the Marquis de Lafayette." An address was prepared with this intent, to appeal to the clemency of the king for "this numerous portion of his subjects, who are suffering under a system of proscription equally opposed to the general interest of religion, good morals, population, national industry, and all the principles of morality and policy."

The Edict of Tolerance was at last signed, in the month of November, 1787, a hundred and two years after the revocation; not such an edict as enlightened principles of religious liberty would have required, but restricted by the limits of the opinions of Louis XVI. and his most influential counsellors. The name

of Protestant was not mentioned in it; the law spoke only of *Non-Catholics*. The preamble itself announced that the king would always favor, with all his power, the means of instruction and persuasion which would tend to bind together all his subjects by the common profession of the ancient faith of the realm." We read in the first article: "The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion will continue to enjoy *alone*, in our kingdom, the right of public worship."

The new edict granted to the Non-Catholics only four things: The right to live in France, and to practise a profession or a trade without being troubled on account of religion; permission to marry legally before officers of justice; authorization to have births certified before the judge of the place; regulation for the burial of those who could not be interred according to the Roman Catholic rite.

But these concessions, so confined in the text of the law, were necessarily much enlarged in practice. The legal existence of the Protestants was recognized. How prevent them, after that time, from having pastors, at least, to consecrate their marriages, baptize their children, and console the faithful on the bed of death? How prohibit them from assembling to celebrate their worship, since they had done it under the severest tyranny? Was it very easy, in fine, to distinguish between the private worship which was authorized and the public worship which they continued to interdict? Besides, there was not even a penal sanction against delinquents.

The law was designedly incomplete. If it gave little, it allowed every thing to be taken. The Protestants were not deceived. "The edict of 1787," says Rabaut the younger, "spread joy and consolation in all the families of the Protestants, and their religious assemblies resounded with thanksgivings to God, and benedictions for the king, his minister, and

their worthy co-operators. The execution of this beneficent edict soon followed its promulgation, and the Protestants were soon seen hastening in crowds to the royal judges to have their marriages and the births of their children enregistered. Old men were seen securing the registration of their own marriages, with those of their children and grand-children.”¹

The edict raised some difficulties in the Parliament of Paris. The impetuous D’Espreménil was one of the opponents. M. de Lacretelle says that he was initiated among the sect of the *Martinists* or *Illuminated*, and that he thought he heard the voice of the Virgin Mary, who directed him to speak against the Protestants. In fact, D’Espreménil, showing his colleagues an image of Christ, exclaimed: “Will you crucify Him again?” This oratorical flourish was out of place; and after some representations addressed to Louis XVI., the parliament enregistered the Edict of Tolerance.

All the churches endeavored, from this moment, to re-establish themselves on the bases of the ancient discipline. It was evident that Protestantism had preserved, in the North as well as in the South of the kingdom, strong roots, and that the beatings of the tempest, while bending it to the earth, had nowhere broken it.

A final reflection strikes us, and it is not the least important. The Reformed people of France had suffered longer and more intensely than any other in the world. They had, from 1660 to 1787, been deprived of all privileges, excluded from all public offices, fettered in all liberal pursuits, driven from the corporations of arts and trades, violently forced back into agriculture and commerce. At the revocation, they had lost their best men, the most opulent, the most industrious, the most active; and the

¹ *Répertoire ecclésiast.*, pp. 7, 8.

rest, overwhelmed by military lodgments, crushed with taxes and fines, hunted in the forests and mountains, without schools, without a legitimate family, without a certain heritage, without civil rights, had been treated like a race of Parias ; and yet, how astonishing ! how wonderful ! it was found, in 1787, that the Reformed people of France had lost nothing, neither in their intellectual or moral power, nor their industrial resources. Far from being abased, abandoned to themselves, as was the case among the Irish under a régime incomparably less oppressive, not only had they maintained themselves at the level of the Catholic population, but in their circumstances they were more elevated, at least in the social scale, richer, and better instructed. This fact, which no one would seriously contest, offers us one of the grandest spectacles in the history of humanity.

BOOK FIFTH.

FROM THE EDICT OF TOLERANCE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

(1787-1850.)

I.

THIS Book will be shorter than the preceding. The period it embraces is brief; it comprises few memorable events, no great success, or great calamities, and ideas occupy a larger space than facts. But the recital of facts, not the discussion of ideas, has been the object of our labors, and we shall follow this plan to the end still more closely, as we approach the present generation. We do not desire to exchange the pen of the historian for that of the polemical writer.

The brevity of certain facts will thus be explained, and the absence, also, of certain subjects which have produced, it may be, in their day, great sensation. It is neither oversight nor indifference, but regard for our duty. There would be manifold inconveniences in distributing praise and blame to men still living, and in taking part on unsettled questions;—this task will be better accomplished hereafter.¹

¹ A work has been published in German entitled: *The Protestant Church of France from 1787 to 1846*, (die protestantische Kirche Frankreichs, etc. ;) 2 vols. oct.: Leipzig, 1848. The author is not named; the editor is M. Gieseler, Professor of Theology, known by an excellent ecclesiastical history and other writings. The book which we notice contains valuable materials and documents.

When we start on the history of the revolution of 1789, we enter a new world. It was necessary, before this time, in obtaining the slightest reform, to resort to long negotiations, accommodations, and compromises of every kind. The edict of 1787, although it granted less than did Henry IV. in the Edict of Nantes, had cost twenty years of struggle. Now, on the contrary, all advances with a firm and rapid step. The timorous scruples of the monarch, the subtile managements of his counsellors, the blind resistance of the privileged classes, no longer controlled public affairs. A great assembly, faithful interpreter of intelligence and the general conscience, breaks away from the chains of the Past, which stood only by dint of precedents, and lays down principles which are to solve the most important problems of political and civil order.

On the 21st of August, 1789, the Constituent Assembly broke through the barriers which had till then opposed the admission of the Protestants to offices of State. Article XI. of the Declaration of Rights was thus expressed: "All citizens, being equal in the law, are equally admissible to all dignities, stations, and public offices, according to their capacity, and without other distinctions than those of qualification and talents."

Since then, this article has been reproduced, with the simple difference of words in all the French constitutions. It may yet be misconstrued in practice; it was very often the case after 1814; but the principle is definitively achieved. It triumphed only after centuries of persecutions, iniquities, and conflicts—such maxims of the true and the just are slow in writing themselves in human laws!

Article XVIII. of the Declaration of Rights was designed to guarantee liberty of conscience and worship. The committee of the National Assembly had prepared it, at first, in these terms: "No one shall be disturbed on account of his religious opinions,

nor troubled in the exercise of his religion." This was clear, evident, without equivocation ; but a curate proposed some restrictions, which were adopted. The new article, in its embarrassed construction, bore the impress of the hesitations of the legislator : "None shall be troubled for his opinions, even religious, *provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.*"

This addition was superfluous in one sense, since it is evident that every religion must respect in its acts legal order. In another sense, it was dangerous, because it seemed to give to the civil power more authority than it should have in these matters. The priest who suggested this unhappy modification should have foreseen that he was giving to political men a weapon which they would perhaps turn against his own communion. Had the persecutors of 1793 invoked any thing but the duty to maintain the order established by law ?

Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, chosen a member of the Constituent Assembly by the seneschal's jurisdiction of Nismes, felt the danger, and unfolded it in a speech, which obtained throughout the country immense applause. It is one of the most admirable defences ever pronounced from the national tribune for religious liberty ;—such a discourse as must have a place in history.

The orator commenced by showing that the intolerant of all ages have never alleged any other pretext than that which had been exposed by the unwary curate. "The Inquisition has always said, in its seductive and cautious language, that thought should not be assaulted ; that every one is free in his opinions, provided he does not manifest them ; but that, as this manifestation *might disturb the public tranquillity*, it should be watched over with scrupulous attention ; and under this principle, the intolerant had gained this power of inspection, which, for so many centuries, has enslaved and chained down thought ! . . .

"I fulfil a sacred mission," pursues the orator; "I obey my constituents. It is a district of three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, more than one hundred and twenty thousand of whom are Protestants, who have charged their deputies to solicit from you the completion of the edict of November, 1787. Another district of Languedoc, a few other bailiwicks of the realm, have declared the same desire, and ask of you for Non-Catholics, liberty of their worship. . . ." (*Au! Au!* exclaimed a multitude of deputies.)

Rabaut-Saint-Etienne appealed next to the rights already sanctioned by the assembly: "Your principles are, that liberty is a common good, and that all the citizens have an equal right to it. Liberty must therefore belong to all Frenchmen equally, and in the same manner. All have a right to it, or no one has; he who wishes to deprive others of it is not worthy of it himself; he who distributes it unequally does not understand it; he who attacks in any thing the liberty of others attacks his own, and deserves the loss of it, in being unworthy of a possession, the price of which he does not comprehend.

"Your principles are, that liberty of thought and opinion is an inalienable and imprescriptible right. This liberty, gentlemen, is the most sacred of all; it is above the power of man; it retreats into the depth of conscience as an inviolable sanctuary, where no mortal has the right to penetrate; it is the only thing that men have not subjected to the laws of common society. To contradict it is an injustice; to attack it, a sacrilege."

Arriving at the special question of the Protestant, Rabaut-Saint-Etienne demonstrated that the edict of 1787 has left in force an offensive inequality between the two religious communions, and that the penal laws against the worship of the Protestants have not been even formally abolished. He claims *in behalf of two millions of useful citizens their rights as French-*

men. It is not tolerance he demands, it is liberty. "Tolerance?" he exclaims; "permission! pardon! clemency! ideas sovereignly unjust towards dissenters, while it is true that difference of religion, and difference of opinion, is not a crime. Tolerance! I demand that it shall be proscribed in its turn, and it will be; for this unjust word exhibits us only as citizens, deserving of pity, as criminals pardoned!"

"I ask for all the Non-Catholics what you ask for yourselves;—equality of rights, liberty—liberty of religion, liberty of worship, liberty of celebrating it in houses consecrated to this purpose, the certainty of being no longer troubled in their religion than you are in yours, and the perfect assurance of being protected as well as yourselves, and in the same manner, by our common law."

Some of the speakers had cited the intolerance of certain Protestant nations to justify theirs: "Nation, generous and free," replies Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, "do not suffer that the example of those intolerant nations which proscribe your worship among themselves should be cited here. You are not made to receive example, but to give it; and because there are unjust nations, it does not follow that you must be so. Europe aspires to liberty, looks to you for grand instruction, and you are worthy to give it to her."

The orator seems to summon before the bar of the Assembly the great multitude of the oppressed, of whom he is the defender. "They present themselves to your view," said he, "still dyed with the blood of their fathers, and they show you the marks of their own chains. But my country is free, and I wish to forget, like her, both the evils which we have shared in common, and the evils, much greater still, of which we have been the victims. What I ask is, that my country should show herself worthy of liberty, by distributing it equally among all the citizens, without distinction of rank, birth, or religion."

Rabaut-Saint-Etienne insisted, in closing, that every religion requires a worship in common, that Christians cannot refuse it to other Christians without violating their own maxims, and that every fetter imposed on the public exercise of a religion is an assault on the very foundation of belief, since belief inevitably produces the worship which corresponds to it.

Notwithstanding the logic and eloquence of Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, the opposition party, swayed by religious prejudices, the centre dominated by political influences, and the priests on the left, obeying their dogmatical antipathies, formed a majority which accepted the proposed restriction. All parties had reason to regret it.

Four months after this memorable debate, the 24th of December, 1789, the National Assembly confirmed, by the following decree, the equal admissibility of the French to all public stations: 1st, the Non-Catholics, who shall likewise have complied with all the conditions prescribed by the preceding decrees, in order to be electors and eligible, shall be able to be chosen in all the degrees of administration, without exception: 2d, the Non-Catholics are able to hold all civil and military offices, without exception.

The occasion soon came for applying this law in the most effective manner. The 13th of March, 1790, Rabaut-Saint-Etienne, the son of a long proscribed person, and who had been obliged to shelter under a bush of stones his venerable head, was appointed President of the Constituent Assembly: he succeeded in the presidential office the Abbé de Montesquiou. It was then that he wrote to his father these words, which so well characterize the change of ideas and circumstances: "The President of the National Assembly is at your feet."

Rabaut-Saint-Etienne was born at Nîmes, in 1748. He pursued his theological studies in the Seminary of Lonsanne. His

ing returned to France at the age of twenty years, he was consecrated to the ministry of the Gospel, and courageously discharged his functions in the province of the Parliament of Toulouse, which had just condemned to capital punishment the pastor, Francis Rochette, the three noblemen, and Calas. He always preached in face of these execrable scaffolds, resignation, obedience to the laws, and the duties of fraternal love.

In 1779, he pronounced, as we have elsewhere stated, the funeral oration of M. Becdelièvre, bishop of Nismes. This discourse having been printed and sent to Laharpe, by M. Boissy d'Anglas, the illustrious critic replied: "You have sent me an excellent pamphlet; here is true eloquence, that of soul and feeling. It is evident that all which flows from the pen of the author is inspired by the virtues he celebrates."

Rabaut-Saint-Etienne published other speeches, and a work entitled: *Ambrose Borély ou le vieux Cévenol*. In it he depicts, in a dramatic form, the sufferings of the French Protestants at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and during the eighteenth century.

Chosen first by the district of Nismes, among eight deputies of the Tiers-Etat, his noble character, his oratorical talents, and his devotion to the public welfare, soon won for him a great influence in the Constituent Assembly: he was several times elected to the presidential chair.

Having been sent to the National Convention by the Department of Aude, Rabaut-Saint-Etienne carried there a wise moderation, and at the same time a generous love of liberty. He joined the party of the Girondins, and faced the popular passions by refusing to vote for the death of Louis XVI. "The nation," said he, "has sent you to use their power, not to exercise it altogether, for it is impossible that she wanted only to change masters. As for myself, I avow it, I am tired of my part of

despotism; I am fatigued, harassed, tormented with the tyranny which I exercise, and I long for the moment when you shall have created a national tribunal which will allow me to lay aside the forms and the appearance of a tyrant."

On the 31st of May he presented the report of the commission of twelve, who represented the party of the Gironde, and maintained a determined struggle against the violences of the Mountain. So firm a courage must pay the penalty. He was ordered to be arrested, and having been discovered in his retreat, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, which ordered his execution within twenty-four hours after, having only ascertained his identity. Rabaut-Saint-Etienne died on the scaffold the 5th of December, 1793.

We return to the Constituent Assembly. A member of the *gauche*, the Carthusian Don Gerle, a strange man, unsettled in his opinions, and who began to grow restless about the proceeding of his new friends, proposed, unexpectedly, on the 12th of April, 1790, to declare Catholicism the religion of the State, and to authorize no other public worship. The *côté droit* and several Jansenists received with transport this unexpected motion. The Bishop of Clermont himself requested that it should be voted by acclamation, as an homage rendered to the Catholic religion.

The majority for a moment appeared uncertain, and they adjourned the session to the next day. In the interval the defenders of religious liberty had time to reflect. Charles Lameth had already invoked in favor of the dissenting communions the maxims of the Gospel. Public opinion wavered between the two sessions; tumultuous gatherings formed around the legislative walls; Mirabeau recalled the terrible recollections of St. Bartholomew; and Don Gerle, seeing more clearly the dangers of his proposition, withdrew it.

The Constituent Assembly soon gave the Protestants new testimonials of their good-will. They restored to heirs their legitimate possessions, their estates confiscated on account of religion, which were yet in the hands of the government. By another decree they restored all the rights of French citizens to the descendants of the refugees, on the sole condition of returning to France and taking the civil oath. Finally, the constitution of 1791 sanctioned in these terms liberty of worship: "The Constitution guarantees every man the free exercise of the religion he professes."

The legislature had discharged its task by proclaiming the true principles; it was now for the people to fulfil their own. But, if at previous periods morals were in advance of the laws, the laws were then in advance of morals, at least in the Southern provinces, where more ignorance and stronger religious passions prevailed.

The Vendée arose only in 1793, because it had no Protestants, or but a few. In the South, on the contrary, where they were numerous, the old animosities which existed between the two communions burst forth in 1790. These facts, which had grave consequences, demand some elucidation.

II.

In the first days of the revolution Catholics and Protestants lived in harmony in the South of France, as well as in the other provinces. "Every thing took its natural course by harmony of spirit," says the historian of the troubles of the Gard; "and no other excitement than that of the fêtes was known there every time the news came from Paris of some favorable event. In several communes the Protestants were seen at the *Te Deum* of

the Catholics, and the Catholics, it is ascertained, attended also the thanksgivings of the Protestants.”¹

But divisions began to manifest themselves from the day when, on the proposition of Bishop Talleyrand, the Constituent Assembly decreed the sale of the property of the clergy, (November 2, 1789.) The priests and monks persuaded the multitude that the Church would be destroyed, religion abolished, the Catholics persecuted; and the popular classes of the South, being unable to attack the philosophers and the Jansenists, whom they did not know, turned their fury against the Protestants, who were entirely unconnected with the measures of which they complained.

Hence sprung separations and violent animosities. These elements of discord were entertained, nourished, poisoned by some members of the privileged classes, who, by the aid of religious collisions, hoped to give the signal of counter-revolution in the Southern provinces, then to arouse the West, march to Paris, and reconquer their ancient prerogatives. Not only has the fact been avowed, but they publicly boasted of it in 1814 and in 1815, as an admirable combination for re-establishing the royal, sacerdotal, and aristocratic cause.

There was, among others, a certain Francis Froment, afterwards secretary of the cabinet of Louis XVIII., who, in a pamphlet published in the month of October, 1815, and entitled: *Summary of my operations for the defence of religion and royalty during the progress of the Revolution*, has related with unblushing frankness, and with official documents to sustain his narrative, all the details of this conspiracy, of which he was one of the principal agents.

“I went secretly to Turin,” says he, “to solicit the approba-

¹ Lanza de Peset, *Eclaircissements histor.*, etc., Part 2d, p. 163.

tion and support of the French princes. In a council which was held on my arrival, (January, 1790,) I demonstrated that, if they were desirous to arm the partisans of the altar and the throne, and to make the interests of religion advance with those of royalty, it would be easy to save both. Then, as now, I was convinced of this truth, that a strong passion cannot be extinguished but by one still stronger, and religious enthusiasm could alone stifle republican phrensy."

Francis Froment reasoned correctly from his view of affairs. The people of the country and the towns would not, of themselves, have defended the privileges from which they were suffering. They must love instinctively a revolution which had enfranchised them from tithes, feudal servitudes, and given them civil equality. But in addressing themselves to their religious passions, in rekindling their traditional hatred against heretics, there was a chance of arming them for a cause which was not their own, and, once started, to drive them in their blindness further than they wished to go. This is the secret of all conspirators; and there will be recourse to this artifice under many standards, as long as there are ambitious men on one side, and ignorant or fanatical men on the other.

Froment had little difficulty in securing the adoption of his project. The emigrated princes commissioned him (it is his narrative) to form a royalist party in the South, to organize, and to be the chief. They gave him money, and promised supplies of men and munitions, as soon as the struggle had commenced. He then returned to France, went through the whole South, had an understanding with the nobles and priests whose opinions corresponded with his own, and soon after the two towns of Montauban and Nismes were drenched in blood.

The conspirators acted everywhere on a well-meditated and uniform plan. They circulated atrocious calumnies against the

Protestants, and scattered profusely, on the roads and public places, incendiary libels. The style of these pamphlets can be judged by the following extract, (and it contains outrages still more violent :) "Exclude the Protestants from all civil and military offices and honors. They ask to share with you the advantages you enjoy ; but you will no sooner have admitted them, than they will do their best to despoil you, and they will soon succeed. Ungrateful vipers ! which were harmless, because their power was benumbed ; but, warmed by your kindness, they will revive only to kill you. These are your born-enemies !"

These odious provocations did not fail of their effect upon the popular masses. The Protestants were systematically excluded from all the municipal councils, and in general from all elective offices. This was a first step : they were able to dispose of the communal authority to the profit of the counter-revolution, and to give to the projects of the factious an appearance of legality.

A second step was to incite the Catholics to sign addresses to demand unity of religion. Conventicles were held for this purpose, ordinarily at curates' houses, or in convents. The devoted hastened, thinking to obey the will of God by attacking the most sacred rights of human conscience, and their fanaticism rose to phrensy. The female part of the population especially, brought up in servile bigotry, abandoned themselves to savage passions. The Protestants, on their side, finding that a new revocation of the Edict of Nantes was eagerly demanded against them, were profoundly exasperated. All this had entered into the plan of the conspirators.

But this was not enough : there was need of an armed force. The regular troops were loyal to the government of the revolution. In the National Guard, many Protestants had obtained high rank, because they generally excelled the Catholics in learn-

ing and fortune. But how could they secure soldiers? They undertook to organize companies of volunteers, who obeyed secret leaders. Recruited, for the most part, from the dregs of the people and the laborers of the fields, their ignorance guaranteed their obedience, and the struggle could be entered on with some chances of success.

These wretches cried out only: *Vive la roi! Vive la croix!* They cried, even: *A bas la nation!* as if they did not themselves belong to that nation which had just regained its rights and its liberties. Several bore, instead of the national cockade, a white cross, after the example of the ancient Leaguers. The Brotherhoods of Penitents, who had risen during the wars of religion of the sixteenth century, had furnished their quota of devoted men. It was, in fine, the League resuscitated, the League without the Guises, the League without Philip II. and Sixtus V., the League after Voltaire:—vain phantom, which they tried to erect on its bloody tomb.

The 10th of May, 1790, the day of Rogations, which the municipal council had chosen for visiting the convents that were to be suppressed, the people rose at Montauban. Six dragoons, or select national guards, five of whom were Protestants, and one Catholic, were killed at the Hôtel de Ville, before they could prepare their means of defence. Many others, after many outrages, were thrown into prison, where they found a refuge from the assaults of the murderers. We omit the details.

On the 13th of June of the same year, the struggle known under the name of *bagarre* commenced at Nismes, and lasted four days. We find in the official report presented to the Constituent Assembly, after the most searching examination, who were the provocators and aggressors in this fatal collision. The plot is evident. It is easy to discover its origin, to trace its ram-

ifications, and to be convinced that religion served only for a pretext to arrive at a counter-revolution.

The Catholics of the lowest order, whom the chiefs of the faction had armed and excited to a mob, committed the most atrocious acts. We shall cite but one example, which belongs to the 14th of the month. "The young Peyre, aged fifteen years, was carrying his brother something to eat; he passed before a troop posted at the Pont des Isles; a man asked him if he was Catholic or Protestant. The boy replied: I am a Protestant. Immediately a man fired on him, and the youth fell dead. 'It would have done just as much good to kill a lamb,' exclaimed a companion of the murderer. 'I have promised,' replied he, 'to kill four Protestants for my part, and this will count one.'"¹

Negotiations were opened; but balls, fired from the precincts of a convent, broke them up. The Catholics who favored the revolution united with the Protestants, and there were terrible retaliations. On both sides, a hundred and thirty-four persons were killed in these distressing days. Let those who prepared, paid for, organized, inflamed the insurrections, be responsible before an impartial posterity! It is cheering to be able to add, that several curates of the environs of Nismes, listening only to the voice of their conscience, came at the head of the National Guards from their communes, that they might co-operate in the re-establishment of order and peace between the two communions.

In the report read at the Constituent Assembly, M. Alquier attests, in the most formal terms, that it was not the Protestants who provoked the conflicts. "They were," said he, "exposed to the hate of a party, as soon as a party was formed against

¹ *Lauze de Peret*, 3d Part, p. 35.

the Constitution, at the period of your first decrees on the property of the clergy ; and, having become the object of a vile mass of calumnies artfully managed against them, to excite troubles and raise a counter-revolution, they have had no other enemies than the enemies of the revolution itself."

Toulouse, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Marseilles, where the Protestants were too few to make the political subservient to the religious question, remained quiet. Their attitude preserved the South from civil war, and the conspirators were forced to seek beyond France the power they did not find in their own country.

When tranquillity was fully established at Nismes, the Protestants opened a temple there, resting upon the right which had been guarantied them by the Constitution. They had engraved upon the frieze the following inscription : "Edifice consecrated to religious worship by a private society : Peace and Liberty." The venerable Paul Ribaut pronounced, with an affecting voice, and countenance bathed in tears, the prayer of consecration.

In the other provinces of France, the Protestants were also attempting their new organization, paying the pastors from their own purse, as they had long been accustomed to do, and asking nothing more of the civil power than the maintenance of their liberty, under the safeguard of common law.

But the revolution became more and more hostile to the Catholic clergy. After having taken away their property, they intended to impose upon them a constitution and an oath. This was the work of the Jansenists, and particularly of the representative Camus. They were soured by the memory of long injuries which the majority of the priests had made them suffer, and they were powerful enough to bring over to their side the *côté gauche* of the Constituent Assembly, which had forebodings that it would prove a serious mistake. The Protestants took no part in these debates.

The civil constitution imposed upon the Catholic Church precipitated the revolution beyond the limits which it would have respected. A great part of the clergy resisted. The priests, *insermentés* or refractory, as they were called, fled to the forests and caverns, pursued by the insults of the same people which had so many times outraged the pastors of the Reformation. France had not sufficiently learned from her spiritual guides to recognize the independence of the human conscience, and the ministers of Rome were the victims of the lessons of persecution they had themselves taught. Woe to the men who take the sword of intolerance—sooner or later it returns against them!

These lamentable struggles do not belong to our subject. The Catholic clergy, we declare it unhesitatingly, did their duty then, and politicians were wanting in theirs. They had overstepped the limits of the civil authority, in pretending to regulate ecclesiastical points, in which doctrine was necessarily implicated; and after having done this first wrong, they committed a second—that of attacking, proscribing religion itself, to revenge the legitimate resistance they had encountered.

They never, in fact, enacted an express law against religious liberty. The Constitution of 1793 contained, further, an Article XXII., which *guarantied to all Frenchmen the free exercise of their worship*. But the convention overturned, by the arbitrary acts of its agents, the rights which it recorded in its legislation, and made decrees which wounded all religious communions. Thus, the 22d of September, 1793, it supplanted the ancient division of the week by that of the *décade*, and wished to compel all the French to labor on Sunday, whatever might be the scruples of their faith.

This unjustifiable tyranny was not exercised without opposition, notwithstanding the terror which weighed upon France. Here is a fact which Rabaut the younger relates, in his *Réper-*

toire ecclésiastique, and which belongs to the Protestant communion; it took place in the district of La Salle (Gard): "A field-laborer, named Alègre, aged about sixty years, was arrested and put in prison for not having worked on Sunday. Eight days after, this man, clothed in his *habits de fête*, presented himself to the committee. They demanded of him what he wanted: he replied that he was already old; that when he had toiled the whole week, he had absolutely need of repose; that if he went to his day's work on Sunday, he would rob the money of the one who should employ him, and that he preferred to return to prison. The committee, who expected, without doubt, some denunciation, was astonished at this reply, and sent him to his home."

The 7th of November, 1793, Gobel, constitutional bishop of Paris, came to the bar of the Convention, to abjure the Catholic faith, accompanied by a few priests, well worthy to walk behind him. He deposited upon the desk the insignia of his charge, declaring that there was need of no other worship than that of liberty, equality, and morality. Certain members of the Assembly, Catholic and Protestant ecclesiastics, followed his example. The Bishop Grégoire alone had the courage to ascend the tribune to disapprove this apostacy; Rabaut-Saint-Etienne was then absent and proscribed.

The abjuration of Gobel was the signal for the invasion of the churches and the abolition of all forms of worship. They spoke only according to the language of the time, of invoking reason, listening to the voice of nature, lighting on the altars the torch of truth, and of rendering all men happy by strangling the monster superstition.

The temples of the Protestants, which had been so lately opened, were closed like the churches of the Catholics, and the pastors, under penalty of being suspected, and consequently worthy of death,

were obliged to cease their functions. The deputy of the Convention, in the Gard and the Lozère, published, the 16th *Prairial*, year II., an order which enjoined all priests and pastors to retire, within eight days, twenty leagues from the parishes where they had exercised their ministry. The terrorist had invented nothing new; he had only copied an ordinance dictated by the Jesuits under the reign of Louis XIV.

A few pastors fell under the revolutionary axe; others were imprisoned, and among them the veteran of the Desert, Paul Ribaut, who was conducted to the citadel of Nismes, on an ass, his age and his infirmities not permitting him to go on foot. "After seeing his eldest son perish, and lamenting the proscription of his two other children, (Rabaut-Pomier and Rabaut-Dupuy,) he was himself incarcerated, and we testify to the resignation of which he gave proofs in that terrible moment. With an imperturbable calmness for himself, he manifested no anxiety but for his children, and other captives who shared his fate, all of whom he consoled and sustained by his example."¹

Protestantism counted proportionably as many victims as Catholicism, if not more, both pastors and laymen, in the days of terror. The *Dictionnaire des Condamnés* enumerates for the department of the Gard, where the Protestants composed not half the population, forty-six Protestants, ninety-one Catholics, and one Jew. The members of the revolutionary tribunal of Nismes were all Catholics, with scarcely an exception. The French Reformation, to use the words of M. Aignan, was never guilty in the agony and the terror of France, and paid twice the tribute of blood: first, to the intolerance of Rome; next, to that of impiety.

We cannot trace the Protestant worship in this period. It appears that at Sainte-Foy, and in the environs, the public

¹ J. Pons, *Notice biographique*.

exercise of religion was never completely interrupted. The recollections of the old men have preserved other examples, without doubt, but books do not speak of them. Piety, which had generally declined, was hidden almost everywhere in the secret of conscience, or in the asylum of home.

The day of the 9th Thermidor ends this oppression ; for when public opinion could raise its voice, it redemanded and obtained religious liberty. A decree of the 3d Ventôse, year III., (21st of February, 1795,) authorized the free exercise of all worships, leaving to the faithful the care of supporting it at their own expense, and prohibiting them from celebrating any ceremony on a public street. The Constitution of the year III. confirmed these arrangements by the following article : " No one shall be hindered from exercising, in conformity to the laws, the form of worship he has chosen ; no one shall be forced to contribute to the expenses of any worship ; the Republic gives no one a salary."

A police regulation passed the 7th Vendémaire, year III., (28th September, 1795,) ordered a declaration to be made previous to the opening of places of worship, and obliged the ministers of different communions to sign this formulary : " I acknowledge that sovereignty exists in the universality of French citizens, and I promise submission and obedience to the laws of the Republic." Afterwards they added the condition of an oath, in the following words ; " I swear hatred to royalty and anarchy, attachment and loyalty to the Republic and to the Constitution of the year III." The promise to obey laws purely political was just ; the order to swear hatred to royalty was not, and raised legitimate protestations.

Some of the Protestant churches profited by the tranquillity of the people and the protection of power to rise again, but this restoration was laborious and slow. There were few pastors ;

some had died during the revolutionary storm ; others had definitively abandoned the ministry of the Gospel ; and the young men of the Seminary of Lausanne were dispersed. There was as little zeal among the laity ; the scandal of a few apostacies had produced a deplorable impression ; and many allowed themselves to be swayed by the negations of skepticism, or by the chimeras of theophilanthropy.

While Protestantism was thus struggling to rise, Paul Ribaut gave up his soul to God. He had been set at liberty after the 9th Thermidor ; but the weight of years did not permit him to take part in the rebuilding of the sanctuary. He died at the age of seventy-six years, the 26th of September, 1795, invoking the name of the Lord, whom he had confessed in the presence of four generations of Christians.

III.

The First Consul found the affairs of the Catholic Church in great disorder. Priests, sworn and unsworn, gave themselves up to violent controversies, and distracted their flocks. The counsellors of Bonaparte advised him, with an almost unanimous voice, not to interfere in the religious questions, saying that he would get little advantage and much trouble from it, and that it would be better to let the Church itself pacify, as it could, its intestine discords. But the new head of the State did not regard this advice, and opened negotiations with the Holy See. It is said that he confessed, fifteen years after, that this was the greatest mistake of his reign.

A Concordat was signed between the First Consul and the legate of Pius VII., the 26th Messidor, of the year IX., (15th July, 1801.) This re-establishment of the alliance of the tem-

poral with the spiritual power necessarily acted again upon the position of French Protestantism.

The Pope had earnestly insisted that the Catholic religion should be proclaimed the *Religion of the State*, or, at all events, the *Dominant Religion*. Neither of these demands was admitted, from fear of producing the suspicion, as said the negotiator of the Consular Government, of the return of an intolerant and oppressive religion. In the preamble of the Concordat the following declaration was inserted: "The government of the Republic recognizes the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, as the religion of the great majority of the French."

This was but the expression of a simple fact. Nevertheless, the Council of State thought proper to prevent all interpretation unfavorable to the Protestants. We read, in a report which was placed under the eyes of the Consuls at the beginning of 1802, these remarkable words: "The government, in declaring that Catholicism was in the majority in France, has not meant to authorize in its favor any political or civil pre-eminence. It has only alleged the priority of the measures it took to secure independence—which it intended to guarantee to all forms of worship. Protestantism is a Christian communion, which unites in one belief and the same rites a vast number of French citizens. By this single title, this communion has a right to the protection of the government. In other respects, it merits marks of consideration and regard. Its founders were the first to spread in Europe the liberal maxims of government; they have promoted the progress of morals, philosophy, the sciences, and the useful arts. In recent times, the Protestants have been the first to range themselves under the flag of liberty, and have never abandoned it. It is, therefore, the duty of the government to afford protection to the peaceable assemblies of this enlightened and generous minority of citizens, gathered in their temples with the laudable

purpose of meditating on the precepts of the religion of Christ. . . . All which is promised to the different Christian communions by the articles arranged between his Holiness and the government of the Republic, is equally guarantied to the Protestants, *with the exception of pecuniary assistance.*"

The Protestant pastors could not, then, receive any salary from the public treasury, while the bishops and priests did. They had returned to the decree of the Constituent Assembly, which granted salaries only to the ministers of the Catholic worship, but they no longer used the same arguments. The Constituent Assembly regarded the payment of the clergy as a reparation, or an indemnification for the loss of their possessions. The Council of State of 1802 entirely overlooked this kind of argument. They defended by three motives their intention of paying the priests without paying the pastors. First, certain expenses can be imposed on all for the interest of the greatest number. Next, the voluntary contributions which the priests raised to maintain the Catholic worship were attended with prodigality and abuses which, on account of different causes, did not exist to the same degree among the Protestants. Finally, "in the articles agreed upon between the Head of the Roman Church and the government of the Republic, the duty imposed upon the State is compensated by the right which the government has acquired, of interfering directly and efficaciously in the administration of the Church by the appointment of the principal ministers, and by the surveillance of the subordinate ministers."

These, then, are the two very distinct conditions they wished to establish for the Catholics and Protestants. For the first, a salary from the State, but also the intervention of the government in the nomination of the bishops and the *curés de canton* : the civil power gave its money, and by its money, it *acquired* the right of interfering in the affairs of the Church. For the

second, no salary, but also a full liberty of internal action ; no sacrifice of money on one side, and no sacrifice of independence on the other.

They drew up, indeed, on the 24th Ventôse, of the year X., (March 12th, 1802,) a resolution in nine articles, in which they spoke only of the general measures of police and of common right for the worship of the Protestants. Bonaparte wrote on the margin of the minute of this resolution, that two articles were wanting : one upon the oath of the Protestant ministers, the other upon the mode of their nomination, and the project there stopped.¹

We perceive that it wanted very little of it,—the separation of the Church and the State came very nearly being realized for the Reformed communion of France. The obstacle came from the First Consul, who, wishing to have authority over Protestantism by the oath and nomination of the pastors, perceived clearly that he must, in compensation, maintain the Reformed worship at the expense of the public treasury ; and from this desire sprang the law of the 18th Germinal, of the year X., (7th of April, 1802.)

If we proposed to write observations upon the history of the French Protestants, instead of relating the history itself, we might ask, What would have been the destiny of their churches, and what would be their position at this day, if Bonaparte, in conformity to the advice of his Council of State, had left them entire independence, while granting to them no salary ? Opposite opinions might be supported on this question with equal good faith ; but the examination of this subject would lead us aside from our main theme.

¹ M. Artaud gives some details upon this curious and generally unknown negotiation, in his *Histoire du Pape Pie VII.*, t. I. p. 265, et seq.

The historic fact, which alone should occupy us here, is, that most of the Protestant pastors and people, right or wrong, received as a great favor the law of the 18th Germinal. They were less sensible to the sacrifice of a part of their religious independence than to the advantages which they expected from the stipends of the State ; for they found in it two grand things : a legal, incontestable recognition, and the official pledge of a perfect equality with the Roman Catholics.

Rabaut-Dupuy, who presided over the legislative body in 1802, was the organ of his co-religionists in expressing their sentiments of gratitude and joy in closing of the assembly. "Legislators," said he, "this law of justice has been received with thanksgiving by all Christians ; the Protestants have been sensible of its priceless value. Restored to the enjoyment of civil, political, and religious rights, at this day when the law regulates all forms of worship, *in an equal manner*, they will be the firmest supports of a government protector."

He said again, in 1807, in a letter addressed to the Protestants of the empire : "You who lived, like us, under the yoke of intolerance—you, the remains of so many persecuted generations, contemplate and compare. It is no more in the deserts and at the peril of your life that you render to the Creator the homage which is his due. Our temples are restored, and every day new ones are rising. Our pastors are recognized as public functionaries ; *they are paid by the government* ; the sword of a barbarous law is no longer suspended over their head. Alas ! those whom we have survived ascended Mount Nebo, whence they beheld the promised land ; but we alone have taken possession of it."

But, whatever unanimity there may have been in the sentiments of the Protestants of this period upon the law of Germinal, we must acknowledge that it changed in some essential

points the organization of the French Reformation, and made it pay dear for the advantage of the political equality in religion.

In bringing before the legislative body the new organic articles, the Counsellor of State, Portalis, afterwards *ministre des cultes*, announced that the law had been drawn up upon the verbal instructions or written petitions of the Protestants. "If it belongs to the laws," said he, "to admit or to reject different forms of worship, the different worships have by themselves an existence which they could hold by law, and whose origin is not considered to spring from human will." We should believe, therefore, that the government had only interrogated the Protestants on their articles of faith and discipline, and simply sanctioned them. But it was enough, to understand it rightly, to compare the law of the 15th Germinal with the rules established by the National Synods.

In the ancient order, which is the system of Calvinistic Presbyterianism, religious society exists in itself and by itself. It has its supreme authority, its secondary authorities, its doctrine, its discipline, its means of government, its penalties. In the new order, religious society, having no longer the Confession of Faith officially recognized, being unable to establish another without the permission of the civil magistracy, guided by no general and fixed rules beyond its relations with the State, and subjected, for the regulation of its internal affairs, to the secular power, without a government, in the true sense of the term;—it seems to rely for its very existence on a power which comes not from itself.

Formerly, it was the pastors and the elders, who, assembled in conferences, in provincial synods, in national synods, who decided definitively all ecclesiastical questions. They appointed ministers, adjudged all differences among the flocks, administer-

ed spiritual penalties, ordered changes regarded as useful, in fine, governed the churches, in their quality of churches, in every thing which concerned piety, good morals, edification, and Christian life. Under the régime of 1802, every thing appeared to flow from the temporal authority, and every thing returned to it by one way or another : confirmation and dismissal of pastors, decisions on doctrines, modifications in discipline, encroachments of ministers, of public worship, or of consistories, and discords in the flocks. Is not this an organization essentially civil, substituted for an organization essentially ecclesiastical ?

The chief differences which exist in the general construction are found also in the details.

The primitive element, which corresponded to that of the *communes* in political society, that is to say, the particular church having its consistory and its pastor, is suppressed, at least, in its proper and distinct authority, by the articles of 1802, and replaced by the establishment of the Consistorial Church, which is composed of a certain number of associated Protestants. The five or six particular churches of which it is formed, are no more than sections or fragments of the body, and their consistories have no legal title. It is really as if they suppressed, in the domain of the State, all the communes with their municipal councils, to absorb them in the purely conventional existence of the cantons.

The law of the year X. concentrates the consistorial power in the ranks of those rated highest in the list of direct contributions. Twenty-five of these *plus imposés* appoint the first consistory. Next, the consistory itself designates the notables, who are in concert with them, to provide for re-elections and vacancies. The two conditions of piety and fortune may be united, without doubt ; but when they are not, it is fortune which must prevail, if they conform rigorously to the legal text. The mass of the faithful, or the people at large, according to the expression of the

ancient discipline, had no right of election, nor hindrances, nor consent officially demanded.

Instead of the provincial synods, which counted thirty or forty members, and sometimes more, since each particular church of the province sent to it a pastor and an elder, the law of Germinal instituted district synods, formed of five consistorial churches. The Assembly could be composed of only ten members, and sit but six days. It had no right to assemble without permission of government, after having made known the matters which were to be treated, and in presence of the prefect or the sub-prefect. Moreover, all the decisions which emanated from these synods, whatever they might be, had to be submitted for the approval of the civil power. And yet, for nearly half a century, notwithstanding these excessive precautions not a single district synod has been convoked.

Finally, there was no longer a National Synod ; for the organic articles having determined nothing on elements and privileges of the assembly, and having not even uttered its name, while every thing which concerned the district synods was carefully specified, there is no doubt that the silence of the Legislature was equivalent to an entire suppression.

The law of the 18th Germinal is not, then, the confirmation of the ancient discipline of the Reformers, as might be inferred from the speech of M. Portalis ; it is in some respects its destruction. It is true, that the change in ideas and manners necessarily wrought some modifications in ecclesiastical regulations, and no intelligent man would have wished the complete restoration of the past. It is still true, that the internal weaknesses of Protestantism have done more harm to liberty than the organic articles, and that the religious spirit could have corrected, in many respects, the faults of the law. Let us not impute to the Legislature what should rest, above all, upon the Protestants them-

selves. Nevertheless, the régime of 1802, established after recent excesses of liberty, bears the impress of an extreme reaction towards the necessities of order. No subsequent government could be so exacting, and the unanimous opinion of the French Protestants demands, to-day, the revision of the articles of the year X. Some wish more, others less, but all desire a law which better guarantees the independence of the churches.

It was not thus, we have seen, in the times of the Consulate. A memorial was only presented to the political authority, soliciting the formation of a *Central Commission*, which would have been composed of a pastor and an elder from each district synod. This commission, subjected to all the rules imposed upon the inferior synods, would have attempted to establish, under the eye of a commissary of the government, some unity in doctrine, worship, and discipline. But the memorial effected nothing.

Twenty-seven *présidents de consistoire* were invited to the coronation of Napoleon. They conferred, in a preliminary conference, whether it was proper to attend the religious services, and, after some hesitation, they decided in the affirmative, either because the emperor was to take the oath to protect liberty of worship, or because they feared that their absence would be prejudicial to the interest of the Reformed churches. "It would be absurd to think," said they, in a deliberation recorded in the registers of the Consistory of Paris, "that any president pastor could be compromised; or have any scruples of conscience in reference to a silent attendance upon the ceremonies, religious, it is true, in their nature, but which exact no assent, no external sign of worship, on the part of spectators; ceremonies which are so united and associated with the civil ceremonies, that they almost lose the special character which the Roman Catholic worship impresses upon them."

The President of the Consistory of Geneva, then a French city,

M. Martin, paid his homage to the emperor, in the name of his colleagues, and of all the Protestants. The response of the emperor is worthy of being preserved by history: "I behold, with satisfaction, assembled here the pastors of the Reformed churches of France. I gladly embrace this occasion to testify to them how well I have always been pleased with all the proofs of loyalty, and the good conduct of the pastors and citizens of the different Protestant communions. I earnestly desire that my intention and my firm purpose to maintain liberty of worship should be known. The empire of law ends where the unlimited empire of conscience begins; neither the law nor the prince can do any thing against this liberty. Such are my principles, and those of the nation; and if any one of my race, who shall succeed me, should forget the oath which I have taken, and, deceived by the suggestion of a false conscience, should violate it, I devote him to public reprobation, and I authorize you to give him the name of Nero."

The emperor faithfully observed his promise. No persecution against the Protestants under his reign, no violence, from high or low, which affected their religious or civil rights; a complete and constant security. But it was an internal liberty, confined within the walls of the temples, if we may so speak. There was a rigorous prohibition against causing any display or excitement in matters of religion. No journals, no associations, no controversy, no proselytism; and if any religious idea or action presumed to overstep the precincts which confined it, the iron hand of Napoleon at once forced it back.

We have heard it said, that a certain Catholic village having manifested an intention of entering into the Reformed communion, a pastor thought he had the right to go there. But he encountered at once the Imperial government, which ordered him to return home and keep himself quiet. The pastor was com-

pelled to bend his head and obey. How many similar facts which have remained unknown!

If Napoleon exacted that no religion should leave its temples, he reserved to himself the privilege of penetrating them himself, and of commanding whenever he judged it proper. On the 19th of February, 1806, for example, he instituted two fêtes simply on a report of the Council of State: the one for the anniversary of his birth, the other for that of his coronation and the battle of Austerlitz. "There shall be pronounced," said the decree, "in the churches, in the temples, and by a minister of worship, a discourse upon the glory of the French arms, and upon the extent of the duty imposed on every citizen to consecrate his life to his prince and his country."

French Protestantism, therefore, has no special history during the fourteen years of the Consulate and the Empire. Feeble in numbers, scattered, without bonds, without common discipline, constrained to remain feeble and silent, and to cause no trouble in the official classification of religions, it lived a uniform and obscure life. "The preachers preached," says M. Samuel Vincent, "the people listened; the consistories assembled, the worship preserved its forms. Beyond that, no person busied himself, no one cared, and religion had almost nothing to do with the life of the people. This lasted a long time"¹

We are acquainted with no important work on doctrines, ecclesiastical history, or sacred eloquence, which dates from the reign of Napoleon. A few occasional sermons, some courses of religious instruction, some compendiums of sacred history, three or four works translated from English and German—such was the Protestant literature of the period. We do not count writings

¹ *Vies sur le Protestantisme en France*, t. II. p. 265.

like those of Charles Villers' *Essai*, in which letters, arts, and philosophy held a greater place than religion.

Calculating within the limits of France as it is now, in 1807, there were not two hundred pastors : the number is now more than double.

The churches in some parts of France were so scattered, that they were obliged to lead a wandering life. Let us be careful, moreover, how we judge those pastors with severity. We do not know all the good they accomplished in their humble works, all the unfortunate they consoled, all the poor they succored, all the souls they edified and brought back to God. Their burden was heavier than that of their successors, their task more ungrateful. They had to struggle against both the inconvenience of too extended ecclesiastical divisions, and the indifference of the people, who were absorbed only in the military triumphs of Napoleon.

Some of these pastors maintained relations with the German societies of the Moravian Brethren, and gathered around them the faithful who shared their convictions. "They were in general," says M. Vincent, "peaceable and inoffensive people, who dogmatized little, who placed religion in love, and especially in the love of Jesus, who assembled in small numbers, without display, without pretension, and with a very mild and very moderate zeal."¹

The French Seminary of Lausanne had been transferred to Geneva ; but, as it could not supply the wants of the pastoral body, the emperor created a Faculty of Protestant Theology at Montauban, (1808-1810.) The chain of associations was thus renewed in one of the most ancient and celebrated centres of the French Reformation. Montauban had lost its Theological Acad-

¹ T. II. p. 266.

emy in 1661, through the intrigues of the Jesuits; Napoleon restored it. Men pass away, persecutions come to an end; but institutions which are necessary for intelligence and the human conscience fall only to rise again.

Some projects of reunion between the Christian communions were put forward in this period.

Public authority interfered no more, as in the times of Richelieu and Louis XIV.; it did not appear to attach the least importance to it, and we discover here only the thoughts and labors of a few individuals.

The Archbishop of Besançon, M. Claude Lecoq, a former member of the Legislative Assembly, constitutional bishop in 1791, and author of some violent pamphlets against Pope Pius VI., on the subject of the civil constitution of the clergy, thought proper to make a display of zeal for the Catholic faith. He addressed, in the month of November, 1804, a public letter to MM. Mavon, Rabaut-Pomier, and Mestrezat, pastors of Paris, in which he invited them to profit by the journey of Pius VII. to France, to make advances towards the Roman Church. "With what ardor would he support," said he, "every means of reconciliation compatible with the rights of truth! With what joy would he open his arms to the children whose wandering rends his paternal heart!" The pastors of Paris replied, that no project of union would be practicable with the condition of returning, like strayed and repentant sheep, into the Church of Rome; and that, otherwise, complete unity in the matter of religion appeared to them impossible.

A lawyer of some talent, M. de Beaufort, descended, in his turn, into the arena, and, placing the question upon political grounds, he pretended that one word of Napoleon's would reunite the different churches. M. Lecoq replied with tartness to this new antagonist; M. de Beaufort opposed to him a vehement

reply, and the project of accommodation terminated in reciprocal invectives.

An old priest of the Society of the *Oratoire*, M. Tabaraud, published, also, a work on the reunion of the Protestant communions. He defended their civil rights, in 1788, against an attack of the Bishop of La Rochelle upon the edict of Louis XVI. An inflexible adversary of the ultramontane or Papal opinions, and an enlightened Jansenist, he had more reasons than those of his order were accustomed to listen to with favor. But his attempt had no more success than the preceding, and we admire only the skill which he employed in the historical exposition of the subject. Between absolute authority in matters of doctrine, which Rome was unwilling to renounce, and the right of free thought, which Protestantism will not give up, where is the point of union? The most ingenious combinations cannot supply the want of a common ground.

IV.

When the dynasty of the Bourbons was restored in 1814, the Protestants nowhere sought to form a distinct political party. Agriculturists, proprietors, members of the enlightened and liberal classes, had no regrets for the military domination of Napoleon. Those among them who were merchants and manufacturers rejoiced in the peace which was to open to their activity a wider field. If they could not but feel somewhat uneasy on seeing upon the throne the descendant of the prince who had revoked the Edict of Nantes, they recalled the king who had granted it to them, and the memory of Henry IV. gave them confidence against that of Louis XIV.

It was to be hoped that the Bourbons, having so many ad-

versaries to encounter, would not have wished to irritate, without a motive, a million and a half of peaceable citizens. And besides, how could they expect that they would attack Protestantism in France, when Louis XVIII. said that he owed his crown, after God, to a Protestant prince, the Regent of Great Britain?

The first acts of the Restoration were dictated by a spirit of impartiality and prudence. The Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., having gone to Nismes, in 1814, gave the Reformers a kind reception, and distributed among them several decorations of the legion of honor. Policy had, perhaps, more to do with it than confidence; but the Protestants, satisfied with the protection which was promised them, could abstain from scrutinizing his intentions.

The charter granted by Louis XVIII. said, in its Article V.: "Every one professes his religion with an equal liberty, and obtains for his worship the same protection." It added, indeed, in Article VI., that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, was the religion of the State. But the equality between the modes of worship at first and formally proclaimed, the distinction accorded to Catholicism was to be, according to the terms of the Constitution, only a simple honorary pre-eminence, without any hurtful or oppressive privilege, and the Protestants were entirely disposed to yield this honor to the Roman Church, provided their own rights were also respected.

There would have been, therefore, no Protestant party, in the political sense of the word, nor collision of any kind, if the charter had been understood by the Catholic masses, thoroughly executed by men in power, and sincerely admitted by the members of the ancient privileged orders. But intelligence was wanting to some, the spirit of justice to others, and that of liberal institutions to the rest.

In the South, especially, the laborers and peasants who belonged to the Roman Church openly threatened the Protestants with new persecutions, without being sufficiently discountenanced and repressed by the local authorities. Sinister rumors spread. They spoke of closing the temples and prohibiting public worship. Some Catholics of low condition, meeting the Protestants in the streets, affected to exclaim: *Vive le roi!* as if they had been the only royalists. Still more, those who called themselves *honnêtes gens*, insulted in broad day the most honorable men of the Reformed communion.

The emigrants returned with the Bourbons; and others, who had been shut up in their castles for twenty-five years, had learned only to curse the revolution, were indignant at the liberties granted by Louis XVIII., and, not knowing what course to follow to abolish the charter, they returned to the plans of the conspirators of 1790. A religious struggle, which would have made of the Southern provinces a grand Vendée, could put in jeopardy the fundamental law in question; and the secret government, so many times denounced by the most sincere friends of the Bourbons to the two legislative tribunals, began its subterranean work. It has been said that these men were more royalists than the king. No, they had other interests than those of the king, interests of position and caste, and they attempted to secure them at any price, even at the cost of royalty itself.

Some new addresses were signed, as in 1790, demanding that there should be in France only one religion. In many of the churches they distributed handbills bearing these words: "The faithful are entreated to say daily five *paters* and five *aves* for the prosperity of the kingdom and the re-establishment of the Jesuits." The Anti-Protestant controversy arose in several pulpits, under the most bitter and violent forms, denouncing heresy

as a public calamity; and the Protestants, persecuted with so many provocations, were in some sort forced to form political opinions after their religious convictions.

We are anxious promptly to render justice where it is due. The blame of the outrages which we are about to relate should not be charged upon the majority of the Catholics; on the contrary, they were as indignant and sorry as the Protestants. It should neither be imputed to the majority of the priests. They no longer move in the van for persecution, as they did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The populace, inflamed by some secret chiefs, acted without instigation from the priests, and often in spite of them. Several Roman ecclesiastics even interposed with courage to rescue victims;—we shall cite soon a remarkable example.

Such was the state of affairs in the South when the emperor landed on the coast of France. The Protestants of Nismes offered to the Duke d'Angoulême their services as royal volunteers. The prince was ready to accept them; but some fanatics repelled them by this insult: "We will not endure these rascally Protestants!" They asked contributions of money, though insulting their persons.


On Napoleon's return to Paris, the Protestants resumed the places and the legitimate influence of which they had been despoiled. They could count upon the protection of the laws, and manifested a satisfaction which is easily understood. But they were far from committing the excesses with which they have been reproached. The faction of 1815 had need to invent crimes for them, in order to palliate their own. All the massacres of the *hundred days*, of which they have been so often accused, were, as appears from official documents, confined to the death of two royal volunteers, who were killed at Arpaillargues, (Gard,) in a quarrel they had themselves provoked, in forcing

their passage through the village, with fifty of their companions, arms in hand.

As soon as the defeat of Waterloo was known at Nismes, the royalist bands reorganized, and commanded the municipal council to declare at once for the government of Louis XVIII., though no official order had yet come from Paris. The council replied, that it was necessary to wait for official instructions, and published a proclamation, saying: "Compatriots of all opinions, for whom we have an equal solicitude, for the sake of the efforts which we have made to thwart the evils which threaten our country, for the sake of your dearest interests, and in the name of God, who imposes upon you clemency and concord, do not be deaf to our voice." (July 13th, 1815.)

The next day a courier announced the return of the king to the metropolis, and the Reformed population resumed without opposition the white cockade. But this prompt allegiance did not satisfy the men who had adopted the white and green colors, attesting by the same that they served another cause than that of royalty. Terror then spread through the South.

The 17th of July, a hideous rabble recruited at Nismes, at Beaucaire, and in neighboring places, attacked the garrison, which, enfeebled by numerous desertions after the news of the downfall of the emperor, numbered only two hundred men. These brave soldiers, besieged in their barracks, saw that all resistance would produce only a useless effusion of blood, and consented to capitulate. At break of day, having laid down their arms by an express agreement, they went out from their barracks, marching four by four, in a firm and sorrowful attitude. But the villains, in the midst of whom they were obliged to pass, fired on them, by a shameful and cowardly violation of the right of men, and trampled under foot the corpses of the veteran soldiers of the country.



There were no longer regular and efficient troops at Nismes. Pillage, fire, and murder desolated that great city. The details are horrible. "Crimes, and still crimes," says, with an eloquent energy, M. Lauze de Peret; "such will be my narrative—villains without fear, peace without repose, an entire submission without security, a city without guarantee, victims without protection, and magistrates silent, though present."¹

The Count René de Bernis, royal commissary, and the Marquis d'Arbaud-Jonques, appointed prefect of the department, after the Marquis Jules de Calvières, who had been only a provisory prefect, published memoirs of vindication. But they were contradicted on almost every point, by M. Madier de Montjau, in his petition to the Chamber of Deputies, and by other honorable citizens. It is well that persecutors may know that truth is sure to come out at last; it is well, also, that they remember that history does not deign to descend into mire and blood to gather the names of subaltern butchers, but it looks only on those who ought to restrain and punish them.

The outrages of a savage fanaticism soon spread beyond the precincts of Nismes. The whole country was abandoned to the fury of a few hundred wretches, who, imposing ruinous contributions, devastating property, sacking houses, maltreating the most inoffensive citizens, dishonoring women, profaning the sanctity of the grave, in fine, massacring those whose position or false report designated for the popular rage, cried out: *Vive la croix! vive la roi!* while they perpetrated crimes equally contrary to the most sacred interests of religion and royalty.

If any portion of the unfortunate Protestants assembled and armed themselves to watch for their common defence, to protect the asylum of their old men, and the cradle of their children,

¹ P. 192.

they were treated as seditious and in rebellion. They were brought before the judges who neither wished nor dared to render justice, and these mock tribunals were merciless towards the victims, instead of punishing the murderers.

The town of Uzès, among others, had been invaded by a band of assassins, and there a priest displayed a sublime courage. The authorities were trembling or conniving, and the National Guard inactive. "A single man, a worthy minister of the law of charity, a priest of God, who has commanded, above every thing, to live as brethren, the Abbé Palhien, showed very different examples. Near the Church of St. Etienne, he accosted Graffan, (Quatremaillons;) he prayed, he insisted, he went on his knees before him; but in vain he followed him to the fatal spot; in vain he uttered religious entreaties to these armed banditti for the defence of the altar and the throne;—on that memorable day, Uzès seemed to contain but a single Christian, a single Frenchman."¹

The terror lasted several months. Towards the end of August, four thousand Austrians arrived in the department of the Gard. They had been told that the Protestants threatened the public tranquillity, and that it was necessary to protect order and the laws. They advanced with precaution, with arms in hand, as if in an enemy's country, and were surprised to find only a peaceable population, abandoned to the rage of a few madmen, and decimated by assassination.

It may be asked in our times, how, in a country like France, such crimes could be committed without inflaming universal indignation. We must reply, that the whole country was then given up to a violent reaction. No liberty of press; no rights except for the party in power; the spirit of party overwhelming

¹ M. Lauze de Peret, 2d Part, p. 10.

and perverting every thing. The official journal of the Gard, which was made up in the offices of the police or the prefecture, had the effrontery to contradict the most evident facts, to deny the most authentic transactions, to boast of the clemency, the generosity of its friends, in the presence of the corpses of their victims. And whoever, even out of this devoted province, had the courage to speak the truth, he was proclaimed a calumniator and a rebel.

M. Voyer d'Argenson experienced it when, in the session of the 23d of October, 1815, he called for an investigation, saying that his heart was rent with sorrow by the reports which announced that the Protestants had been massacred in the South. He was violently interrupted by cries of order, and, notwithstanding the guarded words he employed in his explanations, the call to order was pronounced by a great majority. Did the Chamber of 1815 suppose that, by smothering the voice of M. Voyer d'Argenson, it would stifle the terrible cry of blood and truth?

The government was better informed than it appeared to be. Louis XVIII., an intelligent prince, who had understood the state of the country, was uneasy about the sensation which the crimes of the South would produce upon the opinion of France and that of Europe. England and Prussia, the two countries whose armies had restored to him the crown, on the battle-field of Waterloo, began to be concerned, and the Cabinet of London, being questioned in the House of Commons, appealed to the guarantees of the Charter, in favor of the French Protestants.

The Duke d'Angoulême was sent, in the month of November, into the Southern provinces. He found the temples of Nîmes closed, all public exercise of religion suspended after the middle of July, a part of the Protestant population banished from their homes by the dread of the massacre, the rest confined in their

houses like a proscribed race, the murderers holding a bold head, the magistrates without power and the laws without authority.

Several delegates of the consistory mixed in the crowd of civil officers, to escape the insults of the populace, went to salute the Duke d'Angoulême, and received from him the kindest welcome. He ordered them to reopen their temples on the following Thursday, the 9th of November. They waited till Sunday, and then one only was opened. But the event proved that they had counted too much upon the good dispositions of the people and their leaders. A mob collected around the religious edifice, crying out: "*A bas les Protestants! mort aux Protestants! qu'ils nous rendent nos églises! qu'ils s'en retournent au désert!*"

The doors were forced, and a band of villains penetrated the temple. General Lagarde, who was repelling the assault with a few officers, received a wound in his breast. This crime prevented greater, perhaps; for the populace, struck with terror, took flight, and thought only of their own safety.

This assassination, perpetrated in the face of a whole city, on a military chief, who had only obeyed the orders of a prince of the blood, no longer allowed the government to deny the excesses of the reaction, nor to temporize. The 21st of November, Louis XVIII. issued an ordinance, of which this is the preamble: "An atrocious crime has stained our town of Nîmes. In contempt of the Constitutional Charter, which recognizes the Catholic religion as the religion of the State, but which guarantees other forms of worship protection and liberty, (the ministry remembered this too late,) some seditious bands have dared to oppose the opening of a Protestant temple. Our military commandant, in attempting to disperse them by persuasion before employing force, has been assassinated, and his murderer has sought an asylum from the pursuit of justice. If such an outrage

remained unpunished there would be no more public order nor government, and our ministers would be guilty of not executing the laws."

Notwithstanding the unusual solemnity of this ordinance, which enjoined the pursuit, not only of the assassin of General Lagarde, but also the authors, abettors, and accomplices of the insurrection of the 12th of November, the judges punished no one. Even the murderer of the general was acquitted; and the other assassins, who had carried devastation, flames, and assassination through half the department, could show on the theatre of their crimes an insolent and odious impunity. No one had courage to testify against them, and secret protectors got them absolved.

The Protestant worship was at last re-established at Nismes, after an interruption of six months, the 17th of December, 1815. But apprehensions were not allayed, and security was fully established only after the promulgation of the ordinance of the 5th of September, 1816, which revived the hopes and the forces of the liberal party.

We shall not close the recital of the disorders of the Gard without paying a just tribute of homage to the pastors of this province. Some cast themselves before their armed parishioners, entreating them, in the name of the Gospel, not to render evil for evil. There was one especially, M. Juillerat-Chasseur, at this time president of the Consistory of Paris, who, called to officiate in the fatal day of the 12th of November, continued his prayers with a serene countenance, a calm voice, in the midst of the death-cries of an infuriated multitude, and made himself respected by the wretches who no more regarded the sacredness of the sanctuary. He knew that the least sign of weakness on his part would have led to a frightful catastrophe. This courage is both rarer and grander than that of the soldier on a battle-field.

In the other departments, with two or three exceptions of little importance, the Protestants were neither troubled in their worship nor attacked in their persons or property. Public opinion came to the aid of the laws, to strip intolerance of all hope of reviving against them the persecutions of former days.

V.

After the re-establishment of order, two opposite influences affected the policy of the government towards the Protestants. Hence originated acts more or less conflicting, and a singular mixture of kindness and hostility, till the revolution of 1830.

On one side, the guarantees of the charter; the desire not to alienate so many citizens, who counted, proportionably to their number, more electors than the Catholics; respect for opinion and the national conscience, which would have reprobated every direct measure of persecution; the fear, in fine, of giving new arms to the opposition, which willingly made the cause of the Protestants its own. This was enough to maintain the Bourbons and their ministers in a prudent reserve.

But, on the other hand, the intimate and natural alliance which existed between the old dynasty and the old religion, the necessity of satisfying the demands of the clergy, in order to secure their support in the struggle against the new spirit of the age; the growing influence of the Jesuits and the *congregations*, especially under the reign of Charles X.; the influence and solicitations of the aristocratic party, who labored for the elevation of Catholicism from political motives; perhaps, also, some vague inquietudes upon the tendencies of Protestantism, and some saddening recollections, from which the descendants of Louis XIV. had never been able completely to recover;—all

this explains the hostility, sometimes concealed, sometimes avowed, of which the Protestants had to complain under the Restoration.

To contemplate first the favorable point of view, we must acknowledge that the appropriation of money for the Protestant worship increased sensibly and constantly. Some new parishes were created, new temples built, more abundant means of elementary instruction granted from the public treasury. This increase was even more rapid under Charles X. than under Louis XVIII., and the cause is easily indicated : what was given to the Protestants, was to excuse larger sums lavished upon the Catholics ; and a few thousand francs for the former, covered with a varnish of impartiality the millions which they distributed to the latter.

In the annual visitations of the public functionaries, the two kings did not fail to renew to the Protestants the assurance of their protection and good-will. In ascending the throne, Charles X., who was sensible that he must, still more than his predecessor, give solemn guarantees for liberty of conscience and worship, said to the Consistory of Paris : " Be sure, gentlemen, of my protection, as you were of that of the king who has just been taken from you. All the French are equal in my eyes ; all the French have equal rights to my love, to my protection, to my kindness."

A bureau, or Protestant committee, composed of peers and deputies, was formed under the ministry of M. Decazes, and was preserved under that of M. de Villèle. Not only did the government oppose no obstacle to it, but it approved and seconded the intervention of this commission. In 1824, M. Georges Cuvier was placed at the head of the *Facultés de Théologie Protestante* ; and four years after, under the ministry of M. de Martignac, he exercised the functions of director of the Non-Catholic worships.

The wisdom and integrity of this illustrious man were well calculated to reassure the Protestants against the encroachments of the clerical party.

In a word, from 1817 to 1830 there was no act of general intolerance; sometimes favors, and always security for the mass of the Protestant population. It is a justice that should be rendered to the Bourbons of the elder branch, and we do it with as much more cheerfulness, as their last scion is in the land of exile.

But even this justice demands, also, that we present the other side of the picture; adding, nevertheless, to omit nothing that is due to great misfortunes, that words and acts unfavorable to the Protestants are less chargeable to princes themselves than to their unwise counsellors.

A restless and powerful faction wanted to interpret, in its own way, that article of the charter which made the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the State. The question was no longer a primacy of honor simply, but a real pre-eminence applied to all institutions, to all public acts. According to these strange interpretations of the fundamental law, Article VI., which clothed Catholicism with official prerogatives, was made to impair Article V., which established equality of protection and liberty for all worships; while, according to common sense, the logic, and even the order of the articles, special privileges were to be subservient to the general principle.¹

The Jesuits and their friends openly declared that it was an anti-Catholic, anti-social, impious maxim, to reduce all religious communions to the same level. A bishop in the cabinet dared to say that the Non-Catholics were tolerated only; and M. de

¹ It is said that certain counsellors of Louis XVIII. had urged him to place Article VI. before Article V. The king replied, with much sagacity, that it was not becoming to put the exception before the rule.

Peyronnet, in defending from the tribune the law against sacrilege, uttered these imprudent words : " I am aware of an equality of protection guarantied to worships allowed in the kingdom, and I respect it ; equality of religions—I do not understand the term."

The law of which we have just spoken, confounding spiritual and temporal affairs, and dragging Catholic dogmas into the domain of legislation, established a great inequality between the two religions. Any profanation against the Protestant worship was followed only by the pain of imprisonment, while such profanation against Catholic worship was punished with death, and even, in the government *projet*, with that of the parricide. This alone should have warned Charles X. and his ministers that they were standing on dangerous ground. Protestantism lost nothing by it; the cause of the Bourbons and the priests lost immensely.

Another obligation, which they attempted to impose as a consequence of the pre-eminence of the Catholic religion, was that of compelling the Non-Catholics to make the sign, if not of adoration, at least of homage and indirect participation in certain ceremonies of Catholicism. Thus, they tried to make them adorn the façade of their houses with hangings, at the passage of the Catholic processions, under pain of trial and of fine. It was doubted if the processions out of the churches, in the communes where different worships existed, were not a violation of the organic articles, and in general, whether, in a society well organized, any worship whatever has the right to display in the public streets the celebration of its peculiar ceremonies. But, without insisting upon these two points, we easily understand that the Protestants resolutely refused to decorate their houses ; for they considered it a serious breach of their ancient discipline, an attempt to impair the independence of their personal faith, an encroach-

ment on the equality of worships, and, consequently, their liberty.

There were put forward, to feel the ground, functionaries of inferior order, as Count de Narbonne-Lara, sub-prefect of Florac, who, on his own authority, published a circular ordering the people, whatever might be their religion, to decorate the front of their houses in honor of the procession of the Holy Sacrament. The Consistory of Barre replied to this sub-prefect, the 19th of May, 1818, by a positive refusal, invoking both the Protestant discipline and the charter.

Similar facts occurred elsewhere. Several citizens were fined for not having yielded to this iniquitous pretension. But there was one M. Paul Roman, of Lourmarin, who would not bow before the sentence of the inferior tribunals. He appealed to the Supreme Court, and gained his case after a long trial. M. Odilon-Barrot lent him the support of his eloquence. He showed that religious liberty was fully implicated in the question. "This cause," said he, "is not that of a Protestant; it is not even that of all the Protestants only; it is that of all citizens, whatever may be their mode of worship, whatever may be their religious opinions, apparent or not apparent; all are at this moment represented by M. Roman."

The Supreme Court rendered, the 20th of November, 1818, a verdict conformable with justice, the law, and the rights of the minority. A cause of the same kind was again plead at Marseilles in 1820, with the same result. The government itself renounced, notwithstanding the clamors of some fanatics, this illegal demand, and it was for the Protestants a point definitively gained.

But they put forth another pretension more dangerous in its principle, more serious in its results, more tenaciously supported, and from which, even at this day, politicians seem not to be

completely emancipated. It consisted in closely confining the Protestants within certain limits, as if Protestantism were an evil, which should be kept within the narrowest limits possible. They seemed to say to the disciples of the Reformation : Since you exist in the kingdom, we will endure you ; but remain where you are, and take care how you go beyond. Unity of faith is the rule for us, schism the exception ; and, far from authorizing it to spread, we will restrain it as far as lies in our power.

Nothing was more contrary to the charter, which guarantied to the different worships an equal liberty. For the Roman clergy having always the right everywhere to make proselytes in the fold of Protestantism, it is evident that if they refused the pastors that of making, in their turn, proselytes in Catholicism, equal liberty was no longer any thing but a bitter mockery.

That the charter might be respected, at least in a certain sense, they should have interdicted the priests from converting the Protestants, as they did the pastors from converting the Catholics. Now, this is a condition which the Roman clergy will never accept ; they cannot ; they must not ; it would be, on their part, an unworthy prevarication, and they are right not to submit to this, even in Protestant countries. But there remains, logically and legally, only the common right, or the liberty of proselytism for all.

The government of the Restoration did not always do its duty in this respect. It resorted to administrative impediments, judicial obstacles, and supported itself obstinately on the Article CCXCI. of the penal code, according to which, no association of more than twenty persons can be formed without the consent of the authorities. In applying this article to the religious assemblies, it is clear that the establishment of every new assembly, the opening of every new place of worship, depended on

the good pleasure of the civil power. Liberty of religion existed no longer for French Protestantism beyond its temples. They were counted and numbered by the State. There was almost a return to the tyrannical maxims of the first years of the reign of Louis XIV.

There resulted, as might have been foreseen, incessant struggles. We shall cite but two facts, in which the consistories of the two most important cities of France were concerned. In 1825, the Consistory of Paris, although it demanded the free exercise of religion, not for converted Catholics, but for Protestants by birth, was forbidden to open a temple in the commune of Ageux, "because," said the administrative sentence, "it would not be expedient to establish feeble fractions of the dissenting population in the midst of a population of homogeneous worship!" It was the language of the persecutors of the sixteenth century. In 1826, some parishes of the environs of Lyons having expressed a desire to listen to the preaching of the doctrines of the Reformation, the authority opposed it, in spite of the energetic protests of the consistory. But in both these cases, the government had to submit to the two-fold power of law and of opinion. Elsewhere, to its shame, it gained its point.

While they attempted to confine Protestantism behind official walls, all the gates were thrown wide open to the proselytism of the Catholic clergy. Three pastors having embraced the Roman faith under the Restoration, their pamphlets against the communion which they had abandoned obtained the honors of the royal press, and they were themselves rewarded with a pension.

They planned, also, a restoration of the itinerant missions of the seventeenth century, by imposing upon them two tasks instead of one; for they must convert the disciples of Voltaire at the same time as those of Calvin. These vulgar ranters went to plant crosses from town to town, from village to village, vocifer-

ating at the crossways stupid declarations against the Reformation and philosophy. Far from gaining the Protestants or the infidels, they only disgusted the best and most enlightened of the Catholics. Many respectable priests were themselves ashamed of such auxiliaries, knowing well that it was not by scenes in which the rabble played the principal part, that they could restore the power of Catholicism.

In better society, the defenders of the two communions sustained controversies which did not wound, at least, the laws of public decency.

Men of eminent merit, although indifferent theologians, M. de Borrald, M. Joseph de Maistre, and M. de Lammenais, who afterwards combated his own opinions better than any one of his antagonists could do, attacked the Reformation with obstinate zeal, and brought down upon it blows more loud than just. They encountered in MM. Stapfer, Samuel Vincent, Henry Pyt, and others, adversaries who, without having the same renown, defended the Protestant doctrines with logic and vigor.

The ground-work of this controversy bore little resemblance to the great debates of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Then they maintained on each side religion for religion itself;—it was doctrine, and, above all, that of the Holy Supper, which occupied the controversialists. Under the Restoration, the most celebrated advocates of Catholicism took other ground: they used religion for political effect; overlooking matters of doctrine, they tried to prove that the unity and authority of the Roman Church secure the power of the prince, obedience to the laws, and the maintenance of social order, better than Protestantism. The interests of heaven came in only after those of the earth, or they did not even come in at all.

We might find at this period, doubtless, some discussions purely dogmatical or ecclesiastical; but they were scarcely lis-

tened to, and awakened no echo among the great masses of France. The wave of humanity seemed to retire from its ancient limits, and hollow out a new bed on unknown shores.

No other facts worthy of notice occurred in the external condition of French Protestantism until the revolution of 1830. Article III. of the Charter, which declared all citizens equally eligible to the civil and military offices, might have been, and should, in certain instances, have been better observed. Professorships were seldom offered, and easily taken away from the Protestants. The same inequality showed itself, although in a less degree, in the distribution of other public offices of equal, not to say superior merit: the Catholic almost always prevailed over the Protestant. This ill-will continued to increase in proportion as the unfortunate Charles X. gave himself up to the counsels of those who brought him to ruin.

VI.

In the internal state of Protestantism, we shall notice, as we have in preceding periods, less abstract opinions than the men who were their most distinguished representatives.

When the peace of 1815 had put an end to the agitations of nations and thrones, a great void was left in the minds of men. Illusions of glory had disappeared, dreams of distant conquests had faded away. There was time to respire, to reflect, and something was needed on which men's hearts could repose. Some turned to the cultivation of science and letters, to social speculations, and historical studies, or to enterprises of industry; but a few also sought in religious belief satisfaction for their consciences and their hearts.

Freedom of thought being restored, the religious movement was facilitated and advanced : not that faith cannot grow under oppression from without ; of this we find shining examples in the history of Protestantism ; but independence of thought and action is the true atmosphere of a spiritual being.

Finally, a restoration of religion was promoted by the relations which were established between the Protestants of France and those of other countries. The Reformation had, for half a century, inspired great enterprises and founded great associations ; it had sent its missionaries to the extremities of the globe, and distributed copies of the Bible in all languages by millions. When French Protestantism was brought in contact with these lofty inspirations of Christian life, it better appreciated its own duties, and discharged them with more fidelity.

Many pious men returned to the ancient faith of the Reformed churches, and displayed in acts of religion and proselytism an energy, a zeal, an ardor, of which the new generation had lost the tradition. This change, which was not well understood, not only by the masses, but by enlightened minds, provoked mournful dissensions. The names of Methodist and Rationalist, borrowed the one from England, the other from Germany, became the watch-words of the two parties.

These divisions began to break out when Protestant France lost a man, who, an heir to the doctrines taught in the churches of the Desert, but a stranger to the new conflicts, might have given to theological studies, by the place he occupied in the Faculty of Montauban, a high and powerful impulse. He was a man of faith, learning, and probity ; with all these titles, he deserves a conspicuous place in this history.

M. Daniel Encontre was born at Nismes, in 1762. His father, one of the pastors of the Desert, was able to give to his education only the infrequent leisure hours of a roaming and agitated

life. But the young man accomplished more by himself than others under the most able masters. "We saw in him the phenomenon renewed, which was formerly admired in the youth of Pascal; unable to learn mathematics, he divined them. Before the age of nineteen, without books, obliged to work alone, in secret, by stealth, he found in himself such power of genius, that he succeeded in penetrating into science, the object of his wonderful ardor, even to the infinitesimal calculus. He cultivated, at the same time, with the same ardor, under the eyes and with the consent of his father, the study of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. He made such extraordinary progress, that these languages, and especially the two latter, soon became as well understood and as familiar as his mother-tongue."¹

He finished his studies in the Academies of Lausanne and Geneva, and showed there so much superiority, that his fellow-students compared him to their most able professors. His religious convictions experienced trouble and agitations; but he returned to the faith after the vicissitudes of doubt, and stood firmer after the storm.

On his return to France, M. Encontre preached the Gospel to the flocks of the Desert. He had little religious success, for he lacked those physical qualifications without which the best discourses are not relished by the multitude. His stature was small, his voice shrill, his gestures more sprightly than imposing. A loss of voice released him from the pressure of conscience;—he descended from the pulpit of the temples, and took his seat in the Academy.

The revolution, which overturned every thing, fell also upon him. He sought an asylum at Montpellier. "He was reduced, to get his bread," says the biographer from whom we have

¹ *Archives du Christianisme*, t. III. p. 408, et seq.

quoted, "to give lessons to the master-masons and the laborers on the cutting of stones. He who had been worthy to teach by the side of the Lagranges, the Laharpes, or the Fourcroy's, still esteemed himself happy to teach peacefully in quarries." He never forgot, in these times of proscription, that he was a minister of Jesus Christ, and, at the peril of his life, he celebrated baptisms and marriages, gave religious instructions, strengthened the piety of the faithful at Montpellier and in the environs.

On the opening of the central schools, he presented himself for the chair of belles-lettres. Another candidate, fearing the competition of M. Encontre, entreated him to desist. The latter presented himself immediately for the chair of higher mathematics, and obtained it. Only such a man could do such an act. An encyclopedical mind, equally versed in literature, the sciences, and theology, he was in every thing original and profound. The celebrated Fourcroy said of him: "I have seen in France two or three men like him; I have found no one who was his superior."

Appointed Dean of the Faculty of Sciences of Montpellier, he exercised there a legitimate ascendancy, and enriched with many excellent memoirs the collections of the learned societies. A career as peaceful as honorable was opened before him, when the voice of the Reformed churches called him, in 1814, to the Faculty of Theology of Montauban. M. Encontre sacrificed every thing to a vocation which they presented to him under the austere image of duty, and expressed only the fear of being unequal to his new task—modesty which could be compared only with his genius.

Arrived at Montauban, where the two-fold functions of professor and dean had been intrusted to him, he strengthened the Faculty of Theology by the solidity of his learning, the extent

of his knowledge, and the influence of his character. All recognized that he had the right to exact much from others, because he was still more exacting from himself.

But his powers were soon exhausted by the labors of his charge. Suffering, sick, he still consecrated to it the remainder of his life, which was just expiring. Finding his end approaching, he had himself carried to Montpellier, where reposed the ashes of his first wife and his daughter, and died there, the 16th of September, 1818. "There was but one voice in the Protestant Church of France on the irreparable loss it had sustained," said the compiler of the *Archives du Christianisme*, in announcing this sad event.

In some pamphlets which obtained a legitimate success, M. Daniel Encontre gave his attention to philosophical and religious subjects. His letter to M. Combe-d'Ounons, on Plato, and his dissertation on the true system of the world compared with the history of Moses, prove that he had made profound researches on the questions which, in all ages, have most interested the human mind.

French Protestantism, in the mean time, attempted to found new institutions. The first general assembly of the Bible Society of France was convoked the 6th of December, 1819. We borrow from the discourse of the president the following lines, which have an historical value: "In accordance with our statutes and the authorization of the government, the Bible Society of Paris is composed entirely of Protestants. It seems, and we should not complain of it, that the government thus invited the Protestants to be acquainted with each other, to edify, to become more exemplary, by meeting together." Such was really, after the main motive drawn from religious faith, one of the principal objects of the members of the Biblical institution under the Restoration: that of offering to the Protestants scattered over the

face of the realm, and without a common organization, a centre or rallying-point, a standard around which they could, if needed, afford mutual aid—a great advantage, in the midst of the intrigues and encroachments of the clerical party.

Other associations were successively established: the *Society of Religious Tracts*, in 1821; the *Society of Evangelical Missions*, in 1822; the *Society for the Encouragement of Primary Instruction among the Protestants of France*, in 1829. Each one of these institutions contributed its part in fortifying and extending the empire of Christian piety.

Among the men who brought to the establishment of these societies as much intelligence as devotion, we should name one, who died soon after, leaving a great void—the Baron Auguste de Staël.

Grandson of Necker, son of Madame de Staël, brother of Madame the Duchess de Broglie, he promised to become to the Protestant churches one of those pious laymen, formerly so useful, in whom political influence and the Christian life were united to support each other. They loved, in noting the differences of the times, talents, and affairs, to salute him in advance as a new Duplessis-Mornay, or the Wilberforce of the French Reformation.

Born at Coppet, in the Canton of Vaud, in 1790, he had received from the venerable pastor, Cellerier, his first religious lessons. “We doubt not,” says his biographer, “that M. de Staël owed a great part of the just religious ideas, and the excellent sentiments he manifested at so early an age, to his relations and his intimacy with this minister, as faithful as he was enlightened. We can affirm, that the pupil guarded with care the most lively and the most tender souvenir of his conversations with his master.”¹

¹ *Arch. du Christ.*, t. XI. p. 241, et suiv. *Vide* another notice of the life of M. de Staël, in front of his *Œuvres Diverses*, published in 1829.

The part which he took in the establishment of the Bible Society served to develop his pious disposition. Having accepted the task of compiling the reports of the committee, and of going from house to house to exhort the faithful to make sacrifices for the dissemination of the Scriptures, he learned to appreciate better the value of the Holy Books. So he said, in occupying himself in religious labors, he had received more from them than he could ever give back.

In a journey which he made to England in the spring of 1822, he visited Wilberforce and other eminent Christians, whose words and examples fortified his sentiments of piety. The *Lettres sur l'Angleterre*, which he published in 1825, give only an imperfect idea of the observations which he had gathered on this subject; for the author had reserved the discussion of the religion and the Christian communions of Great Britain for a volume which he had not time to complete.

M. de Staël applied his zeal and his efforts to several works which might be called miscellaneous, because, while founded on the Evangelical Faith, they had for their object a temporal good. We shall cite, among others, the founding of Savings Banks, the elementary instruction of the people, the abolition of the slave trade.

We have not forgotten the thrilling indignation he excited in a general assembly of the *Société de la Morale Chrétienne*, when he showed the instruments of torture used in the trade. It did more. "From saloon to saloon," says one of his biographers, "from bureau to bureau, from palace to palace, we saw him displaying these disgraceful proofs of the most atrocious cruelty and cupidity. He brought before the eyes of the princes and princesses of the royal family these machines, invented by the genius of evil, and explained to them their bloody use. He showed them to the peers in the hall of their sessions, and to all

the friends of humanity in the public meetings of benevolent societies. . . . We can affirm, without fear of saying too much, that it is to his generous efforts we owe the cessation of the evil, and the change which has manifested itself in this respect in the policy of the government and in acts of legislation."

All the oppressed had the same rights to the sympathy of M. de Staël, and he defended in the Canton of Vaud the victims of an intolerant law. His writings, his letters, his solicitations moved all upright consciences, and if he did not obtain the repeal of this unjust law, he mitigated it in its application.

His character was a rare mixture of *abandon* and reserve, of zeal and discretion. His integrity was so great, that it sometimes restrained him from going even to the limit of his religious conviction, from fear of overstepping it. No one knew better than he how difficult it is, in the midst of public business and social relations, to conform his life entirely to the precepts of the Gospel. "This want of harmony in his conduct was for him," says the editor of his works, "an insupportable burden under which he languished, and his physiognomy itself bore the impress of it. But his soul was gradually calmed by the Christian belief, so consoling, and at the same time so pure, which, without detracting from the beauty of the moral standard we should attain, teaches us to contemplate our own infirmities, and fasten them upon the only Holy and Just Being who has done every thing for us."

The Baron de Staël died at the Château de Coppet, the 17th of November, 1827. He was but thirty-seven years of age.

The attention and the labors of pious men were directed, also, during the Restoration, to the scattered Protestants who were in danger of losing their faith and their religious habits, by living far from regular pastoral influence. Among these new evangelists, the greatest, without doubt, was Félix Neff, born at Geneva,

in 1798. A stranger to the Protestant churches of our country by his birth, he belonged to them by his missionary labors ; for it was in Dauphiny, especially, that he sowed the seeds of the Gospel, and they surnamed him, with justice, the Oberlin of the Higher Alps.

Neff sought not for glory, and it is probable that even the thought of a celebrated name never occurred to his mind, when he went to explain the Bible in the huts of the poor mountaineers. No name of the French Reformation, however, has gone in our days so far. Numerous original essays and a multitude of translations have been published on his life. In the distant corners of Germany, in the remotest valleys of Scotland, on the banks of the Oronoco and the Ohio, the name of Félix Neff is pronounced, and thousands of voices will answer : He was a great servant of God.

In his youth he read Plutarch and Rousseau continually ; he studied mathematics, the natural sciences, and distinguished himself by the manliness of his character, as well as by the force of his genius. Enrolled at the age of seventeen years in the artillery of Geneva, he gradually approached the principles of Christianity ; but, having once embraced them, he held them firmly. He abandoned immediately the military service, and travelled through many of the Swiss cantons, preaching the Gospel from place to place. Afterwards he went into the department of the Isère, and in 1823 turned to the Higher Alps.

There, in the deep gorges and on the peaks covered with eternal snow, exists a population which reaches back, it is said, in their symbols and worship, to the first Christians of Gaul. They are connected not only with the disciples of Pierre Waldo, but with the apostleship of Ireneus, the second bishop of Lyons.

These Christians of Dauphiny, exposed to cruel persecutions,

and always more oppressed as the power of Rome increased, took refuge from rock to rock, from peak to peak, to the last verge where men can breathe. They had brought with them their Bible, their Confession of Faith, and that firm piety which made them choose the most frightful torments to apostacy. When the Reformation appeared, they hailed it as a sister of their ancient communion, and united with the churches of Dauphiny and Provence.

Neff found in the valleys of Fressnières and Queyras, at Triève, at Lacombe, at Dormilleuse, hamlets hanging on the sides of the Alps, the wreck of this loyal race. Without schools, pastors, or regular worship, they were exposed to live on their pious recollections, rather than a personal and living faith. Neff restored it to them with the help of God; and a missionary of civilization as well as Christianity, he was their schoolmaster, agriculturist, engineer, surveyor, the first in the labors of the fields, the last at the house of prayer, devoting himself entirely to the people whom he had come to serve.

Three years and a half passed in these miracles of fraternal love. Félix Neff sheltered his head sometimes under one hut, sometimes under another; he never lay three nights successively in the same bed. His parish was fifteen leagues in length, and embraced twelve *annees*. He visited them in winter as in summer, in snow knee-deep, making long windings to avoid the glaciers, eating the coarse bread of the people, preaching in barns, and opening schools in stables. All this exalted devotion was not fruitless. The mountaineers of the Alps awoke at the voice of the new apostle. "The rocks, the glaciers themselves," wrote he, "all seemed inspired, and smiled upon me; the wild districts became pleasant and dear to me the moment they were peopled by brethren."

But his health, robust as he was, broke down under the bur-

den, and in this sublime struggle of charity with physical suffering, his body gave way. Félix Neff was compelled to leave the Higher Alps, which he saw no more, and went to his native town to die, in the month of April, 1829.

He left few writings; some fragments of sermons, some pious meditations, and letters which have been collected and published. He was more a man of action than of study, and he might have addressed to religious writers the words of a great man of antiquity to a philosopher: "What you say, I do."

Protestant literature, under the Restoration, is rich enough in the number of works, but poor in original books of value. We count many translations and reprints. In the first list, English authors figure chiefly: Bogue, Chalmers, Paley, Thomas Scott, Erskine, Milner, Miss Kennedy, and others. In the second, we find the writings of Nardin, Saurin, Court, Duplessis-Mornay, Dumoulin, Claude, and Drelincourt. The *Mémoire* of M. Alexandre Vinet, in favor of liberty of worship, the *Vues sur le Protestantisme en France* of M. Samuel Vincent, and the *Musée des Protestants célèbres*, a publication still unfinished, are distinguished by merit superior to the mass of books of this period, which are now forgotten.

VII.

The Protestants took no part whatever, as such, in the revolution of 1830; but they rallied around it with joy, because it brought them new pledges of security for the free exercise of their worship. We have seen that the bickerings, vexations, exclusions, were multiplied towards the end of the reign of Charles X.; and if the political rights secured by the Charter had been suppressed under the ordinances of July, would not

religious liberty, which rested on the same foundation, have been exposed to the same perils? Many persons believed it; and, without admitting the reports circulated among the popular masses on the projected persecutions of the Protestants, it is probable that their situation would have been harder still.

This explains the satisfaction they felt at the news of the victory of the Three Days. But this contentment was calm, reserved, without the least thought of retaliation, and the good understanding between the two Churches was nowhere disturbed except at Nismes, where it seems that the religious communions must always feel the counter-action of political events.

The Protestants were not the aggressors. On the contrary, an appeal for union was published, in the early part of the month of August, with the approval of the notables, without distinction of worship, and the pastors went from family to family, recommending everywhere oblivion of the outrages of 1815. Their voice was heard. A multitude of Protestant laborers went to the public square, uttering words of reconciliation, and many of the Catholics joined them. They formed a procession which marched around the town, exclaiming: *Vive l'union! vive la paix!*

But some agitators of the lowest class, partly from fanaticism, partly from the reckoning justice might demand of them, perhaps, for their past crimes, returned to Nismes, the 15th of August, with foreigners suspected of having sought a refuge at Beaucaire, and their presence was the signal of the most deplorable collisions. Happily, a few companies of courageous laborers came down from the Vaunage, and struck the rebels with awe. The Catholics counted two killed and six wounded; the Protestants six killed and twenty-eight wounded. The latter had, therefore, offered three or four times as many victims as they had made: the French had been accustomed to this for three hundred years.

The Chamber of Deputies, in the revision of the Charter, suppressed Article VI., on the religion of the State, and resumed the words of the *Concordate*, respecting the religion of the majority of the French. There was a greater desire to give satisfaction to Protestantism than to public opinion, aroused against the usurpations of the clerical power. M. Dupin spoke very clearly in his report. "The expressions of Article VI.," said he, "have awakened alarming pretensions to an exclusive domination, as hostile to the spirit of religion as to liberty of conscience and the peace of the kingdom. It was necessary, in a three-fold sense, to efface the terms which, without adding any thing to the sanctity and reverence of religion, had become the source of many errors, and finally caused the humiliation of the elder branch, and brought the State to the brink of ruin."

Two months after, as procurator-general, at the Supreme Court, M. Dupin, who afterwards supported very different maxims, asserted the true conditions of religious liberty. The question always was, whether, in order to open a new place of worship to form regular assemblies of the Protestants in the districts where they did not exist before, it was necessary to obtain a previous permission of the government, or whether a simple previous declaration was sufficient. It was the great question of the *preventive* or the *repressive régime*, of censorship or liberty, of arbitrary intervention of power in religious matters, or the independence of believers.

M. Dupin declared then, in the affair of the Protestants of Levergies, (and his words are still worthy of citation): "Who wishes the end, wishes the means. What service will a proclaimed liberty be, I ask, if you refuse the means of enjoying it? It will be a license for the exercise of worship, and it will be at the same time a prohibition of its exercise anywhere! It will be an interdiction of its exercise in the streets and public places:

this would crush other worships. And when you ask to hold services in any edifice whatever, they will not permit you! Would not such a liberty be a mockery? And would not the obligation thus imposed, of obtaining a permission to celebrate its worship, produce the same result as the previous censorship, applied to the liberty of the press? . . . In the actual state of our constitutional legislation, I admit the right of the administrative authority to watch over the exercises of religious assemblies, like every other gathering; the right of trying and punishing misdemeanors, growing out of these services, and consequently the uselessness of a previous declaration to secure surveillance. But I cannot admit either the peremptory right of refusal, or the silence equivalent to it, as a means of preventing citizens from celebrating their worship in full liberty. This liberty is not subject to a previous authorization; it is subordinated to a given permission no more for those who are not Catholics than for those who are." (October, 1830.)

The external condition of the French Reformation appeared then more favorable than it had ever been, and we find in the Protestant journals of 1830 the expression of their hopes. There will be no more inequality, direct or indirect, between the two communions, nor obstacles of any kind to the manifestation of the Reformed faith! Henceforth there was to be no going to solicit for ecclesiastical affairs in the ante-chamber of a prefect snared by the priests, or in the bureau of a minister governed by political calculations! The ill-will of a mayor or a procurator of the king could no longer suffice to dissolve religious assemblies, and courts could no more punish as crimes the prayers of a few peaceable men who dared to assemble in a greater number than twenty. But we shall see how soon these hopes were disappointed.

Many Protestants thought the occasion propitious for demand-

ing a change of the law of the 18th Germinal. It seemed to them that a government derived from the triumph of liberal ideas could not, without contradicting itself, preserve a law which had been inspired by an excessive reaction against all liberty. Reclamations, petitions, were addressed to this effect to the ministers of Louis-Philippe, but they were set aside. If the popular origin of the government was a means of liberty, it was also an impediment to it. The new power, feeling itself weak and vacillating, did not wish to augment the difficulties of its position by touching ecclesiastical questions, and it adopted as a rule of conduct in these matters, not to change any thing except in a case of absolute necessity.

Perhaps, if the question had concerned Protestantism alone, it would have been more easily managed. To give better laws to so small a minority—this could raise no storm. But behind the Protestant communion was the Catholic, with a discontented clergy, secretly hostile, and who complained of the organic articles still more than the consistories. If they granted something to the one, how refuse every thing to the others? And was it prudent to increase the agitations of the State by those of the Church?

The government refused, therefore, to make the least change in the law. Another question was then proposed. Could they not, in maintaining entire the organic articles, apply more liberal constructions, and give to Protestantism a position less dependent? The intervention of legislative bodies was no longer necessary; the discussion on this matter was held with closed doors; every thing could have been arranged between the consistories and the minister of public worship, and a simple royal ordinance would have sufficed. Several consistories insisted upon this point; some pastoral conferences prepared a scheme for the administration of the Reformed churches; the government itself

appointed a commission charged with preparing a plan of ordinance, and it was hoped that some reforms would result from all this labor.

But the hopeful were deceived. The new regulation prepared by this commission, instead of granting a larger share of liberty, seemed to restrain it within still narrower limits, and the minister of public worship, having consulted the consistories on his project, met a strong and almost universal opposition. The government did no more, and the *régime* of 1802 was maintained entire.

However, the situation of the Reformed churches in respect to pecuniary affairs was not only not impaired, but materially improved; and this was the result of the natural genius of the middle class, who now controlled public affairs. Increase of salaries for the majority of the pastors, the establishment of new places, liberality of appropriation for the building of temples and the opening of schools;—all this should be mentioned with a just gratitude. What money could accomplish for the development of a religious communion, they did not refuse.

We should add, to the honor of the government of Louis-Philippe, that it never sought to meddle with the internal questions of the churches, when its intervention was not requested by the churches themselves. If it pronounced the dismissal of a few pastors, and did other acts which should not depend upon the decision of the civil power, it was against its will, and after long delays. Protestantism might have been much freer by itself, if it had seriously desired to seize on liberty.

But beyond the official precincts, barriers and impediments were soon raised, as under the reign of Charles X.; sometimes, even, they appeared to go further, and scarcely one trial on account of religion was decided which did not give rise to a new one. We must enter here into some explanations.

After the revolution of July, the most zealous of the Protestants thought the moment had come to increase their efforts at proselytism. Viewed from the point of liberty and equality only of worship, it was their right; and from that of their personal convictions, it was their duty. When proselytism employs only pacific means, and those authorized by common morality, it belongs legitimately to no human power to interdict it.

Circumstances appeared favorable. Public opinion was profoundly hostile to the clerical party; it accused it of having warped the conscience of an old king, to make him violate his oath and overthrow the liberties of the nation. Everywhere outward signs of Catholicism fell before the popular outcry; the churches were deserted, and the priests felt so keenly their unpopularity, that for several years they kept out of sight, showing themselves only when they were absolutely compelled to it, raising no dispute, saying not a word, demanding nothing more than to be forgotten at the foot of their altars.

This was not all. Philosophical systems, social theories, were presented boldly in the country, under the sacred name of religion, and were proclaimed with *éclat*. Saint Simonism, among others, had its journals, its public assemblies, its worship, its hierarchy, its missionaries, its propaganda. We notice the fact, without contesting the right. The *Saint-Simonians* had to be as free as Protestants and Catholics, to gain proselytes by persuasion.

But it is easy to understand that fervent Protestants did not shut themselves up in their temples, while doctrines, anti-Christian and corrupting in their eyes, were propagated in open day. Conscience imposed on them as a holy obligation, to appeal at once to the deserters of the Catholic Church, an immense multitude, who were fluctuating, without spiritual guides; and to the disciples of the schools, who appeared to them to have only the

vain show of a religion. It was not so much a thought of aggression against Catholicism, as an evidence of sympathy for souls which had no longer religious beliefs of any kind.

They proposed to themselves still another end, secondary in respect to religious conscience, but still important : it was, to strengthen social order, threatened by political revolutions. These Protestants thought that a vague spiritualism could not give a free people that morality which is necessary to sustain the great structure of laws, and that they must have a positive and strong faith, the faith with which they felt themselves inspired.

Hence, from a part of French Protestantism arose a series of publications, associations, Christian institutions, in the general sense of this word. A journal which unfurled only the banner of the Gospel, the *Semour*, appeared in the month of September, 1831. Chapels, not salaried by the State, were opened about the same time, at Paris and elsewhere. In 1833, was established a *Société Evangelique*, with the design of proclaiming to all, without distinction, what it considered the essential truths of Christianity. We might mention other associations conceived in the same spirit.

The beginnings of these labors were not opposed. But the Catholic clergy having gradually recovered some power, the government thought it proper to conciliate them, and attempt to reconcile them by favors of a different kind from the establishment of 1830. We will not inquire whether the government of Louis-Philippe gained more by it than it lost. What we have to say is, that it restricted the work of evangelical proselytism in proportion as its relations were more or less intimate with the clerical body. It would have been supposed, in considering certain acts and trials, that something analogous to what was seen in ancient times was enacted. All historians have remarked that Henry IV., on his accession to the crown, and Louis XIV.,

when he had his difficulties with the Holy See, redoubled their severity against the Protestants, because they wanted to relieve themselves from the suspicion of heresy. The same cause, all things considered, with the wide diversity of the periods, produced like results under the reign of Louis-Philippe. This prince had the suspicion of the priests to overcome, their sympathies to win, and feared in one sense, more than Charles X., to leave the field open to the Protestants, because the clergy would have been more prompt in accusing him of connivance with them. The marriage of the heir of the crown with a Protestant princess, (the great-grand-daughter, it is said, of Admiral Coligny,) far from ameliorating this state of things, made it worse.

They not only, as under the Restoration, brought suits against those who opened new places of worship, and invoked against them the restrictive articles of the penal code, and applied to them the penalties of the law of 1834 on associations, although the minister of justice and of public worship had solemnly promised the Chambers never to proceed against the religious communions, but even the right of controversy, which was practised under the régime of the Edict of Nantes, was put in question; and there was likewise a judgment of the prefect, who pretended to determine, as in the times of Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici, the number of persons authorized to participate in the Protestant worship. Still more, Protestantism, legally constituted, was forced to sustain struggles to preserve the right of visiting its own members in the hospitals, prisons, and other public establishments; and they sometimes went so far as to impose arbitrary limits to the preaching among the scattered Protestants.

These unjust proceedings, which should be attributed especially to the lower and ignorant functionaries, provoked energetic

protestations. A society was formed to defend, under the name of the general interests of French Protestantism, liberty and equality of religion. All the pastors of Paris, without exception, complained of the conduct of the civil power. The national tribunal resounded with these grievances. Eminent men of the Reformed communion, MM. Pelet de la Lozère, François Delessert, and Agénor de Gasparin, were their interpreters ; the opposition supported them, and the minister promised to render more complete justice to the Protestants.

He kept his word in some respects. Legal Protestantism could accomplish its mission among its adherents ; but evangelical Protestantism encountered serious obstacles at almost every step, till the downfall of royalty in 1830. It is sad to have to declare that not a single government in France, whatever may have been its origin, has yet been known to practise religious liberty in all its extent. There is among us liberty to be an infidel ; but we are not fully free to proclaim our faith and celebrate our worship according to our own conscience.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the government, the Reformed doctrine gained ground in various places. A certain number of Catholics, and even some priests, embraced Protestantism. New churches were added to the old, some attaching themselves to the established organization, others preserving an independent position. But we should not exaggerate the importance of this success. Political passions and material interests seem to absorb in our days the vital energies of the people ; and most of the French, it must be acknowledged, have too little faith to change their religion.

The attempts at proselytism made on both sides would naturally augment the ardor of controversy. It was, in fact, kept up without relaxation ; and we might cite, from 1830 to 1848, a long list of writings upon matters debated between the two com-

munions. Some of these publications are presented in popular style, which have gained for them numerous readers.

At the same period we find from time to time examples of odious intolerance; but these were only private and isolated acts. There were abductions of young girls, refusals of burial in the parish cemeteries, profanations of tombs, sequestrations of the sick, outrages against several agents of the evangelical societies. The hand of the priests and the nuns were often suspected in them, and in certain cases clear evidence of it was discovered. The responsibility of these acts should fall only on a few ignorant and fanatical individuals. The best portion of the Catholics were indignant, and the judiciary or administrative authority, while meriting the reproach of seeking out and punishing with too much leniency the true culprits, protected the rights of the minority.

The last years of the reign of Louis-Philippe were troubled by an affair which agitated many Protestants of France, although it was connected only indirectly with their relations to the State. The armed invasion of the island of Tahiti revealed to the world the extreme complaisance of the government towards the clerical party, and at the same time the danger of subordinating to the maxims of the Roman Church the policy of the temporal power. This attack upon the right of nations well-nigh broke the alliance with England, compromised the name of France before all civilized nations, sensibly increased the forces of the opposition, and threw the ministry into embarrassments from which it never completely recovered. So grand and so hard a lesson should not be lost.

VIII.

The internal state of Protestantism under the royalty of July, will one day furnish the historian with abundant subjects for research and reflection.

Two questions, in which, on close examination, all others are included, were particularly discussed :—the question of the Confessions of Faith, and that of the separation of Church and State.

Should the churches of the Reformation have a written and obligatory confession on the fundamental Articles of Faith? Or should they only make the Bible the sole rule of belief and instruction? In an historical point of view, the question would be soon decided, since French Protestantism existed under the régime of a dogmatic formulary from the year 1559 to 1802. But this fact, important as it was, could resolve nothing; for the Reformation did not declare itself immutable, and reserved the perpetual right of changing its mode of organization, on the single condition of recognizing the sovereign authority of the Scriptures.

A violent and often recurring controversy therefore followed. This polemic had begun before 1830; it was renewed under Louis-Philippe, and is not yet terminated. Partisans and adversaries of the confessions of faith both appealed to the testimony of the Bible; but the one party regarded, above all, unity of doctrine, the other the right of examination and liberty. The first do not comprehend how there can be a Church in the true acceptance of the term, when the pulpit is open for contradictory teachings; the second do not comprehend how Protestantism can be subjected to a rule which does not allow every man to form his belief for himself, with the Bible in his hand.

Perhaps, if we descended to the arena of controversy, we should acknowledge that these differences of opinions consist more in the manner of interpreting the Gospel than of confessing it. The defenders of prescribed symbols see the essential points where their adversaries discover only empty shadows, and that which is the whole of Christianity to the one, is to the others only an individual and fallible interpretation.

Two men who have put forth a legitimate influence, MM. Stapfer and Samuel Vincent, have advocated, in this controversy, two opposite opinions.

M. Philippe-Albert Stapfer, born at Béarn, had become a French citizen, by a long sojourn in our country, and by his constant sympathies for the Protestants of France. He brought them what they had too much wanted, since the seventeenth century: theological knowledge, enriched from the best sources of Christian antiquity and the Reformation.

A portion of his life was employed in important political and diplomatic affairs. Appointed minister of public instruction and worship in his native country, at the period when the Directory had constituted Switzerland one Republic, M. Stapfer displayed a great zeal for the intellectual improvement of the people, and a generous courage against the domination of foreigners. Called afterwards to fill the post of Minister Plenipotentiary near Bonaparte, he defended, as long as he could, and with a noble firmness, the independence of the Helvetic Cantons against the increasing encroachments of the conqueror of Marengo.

These laborious negotiations did not prevent him from devoting much time to study. He kept an attentive eye on Germany; learned in its theology, in its philosophy, in all its scientific movements, and, till his last days, considered it a duty to keep up with the progress of the age.

Eminent for his learning, M. Stapfer was not less so for his

faith. These two grand qualifications of a moral being combined harmoniously in this superior intellect. Unfortunately, he has written little; his feeble health did not permit him long to hold the pen. A few essays and discourses form the greatest part of his works. They have been collected in two volumes, with a biographical notice by M. Vinet—an introduction impressed with respectful affection and rare discernment.

M. Stapfer devoted himself most zealously to the labors of the principal associations of Protestantism. He exercised in this field great moral influence. His correct judgment, his elevated views, his benevolent character, his firmness in trying occasions, the nobleness of his sentiments and intentions, all gave to his opinions an authority to which it was honorable to yield. This faithful servant of the Gospel died the 27th of March, 1840.

M. Samuel Vincent, born at Nismes, in 1787, was son and grandson of pastors of the Desert. He had drawn from paternal lessons a deep attachment for the Reformed communion, hallowed by the blood of so many martyrs, and which had breasted itself against so many storms. Other opinions than those of the learned pastor might be entertained on some articles of doctrine and discipline; but no one could doubt his firm and unwavering desire of collecting the scattered members of the great body of the French Reformation, and of unfolding, under the benediction from on high, new germs of life. M. Vincent faithfully reflected the physiognomy, the tendencies, the character of the Protestants of the South, who showed so much fidelity and heroism in the days of persecution, and who distinguished themselves towards the end of the sixteenth century from the Protestants of the North.

After finishing his studies at the Academy of Geneva, he was called, in 1810, to serve, like his father and his grandfather, the Reformed Church of Nismes. He distinguished himself by the

variety of his learning, the blandness of his private relations, and his zeal in reviving around him a spirit of activity. He was a man of meditation and impulse, always ready to spread, munificently, the useful ideas he had gathered, and who cheerfully gave to others the honors of leading the way where he had pointed.

From 1820 to 1824, he published, under the form of a periodical, a collection of *Mélanges de religion, de morale et de critique sacrée*, designed especially to initiate the French pastors into the progress of German Theology during the past eighty years. The task was not a pleasant one. He was obliged, in a certain sense, to create his public, before he could instruct them, and M. Samuel Vincent had an opportunity to convince himself that it is sometimes more difficult to inspire the taste for knowledge than to communicate knowledge itself.

When M. de Lamennais attacked Protestantism with all the vehemence of his genius, the pastor of Nismes replied to him by his *Observations sur la voie d'autorité appliquée à la religion*. A less able writer than his illustrious adversary, he sustained a better cause, and defended it by more solid arguments. We regret that M. de Lamennais has assumed so haughty a tone in his reply, forgetting too much that, in such a debate, the victory is gained not by boldness of language, but by valid arguments.

We have already had occasion to quote the *Vues sur le Protestantisme en France*, a work in which M. Vincent has brought out his reflections upon the principal questions of doctrine and church organization. This work bears the stamp of an independent and powerful intelligence, and yet the author appears not to have given to it the full measure of his power;—it is the first germ of a great mind and a generous heart.

M. Vincent died the 10th of July, 1837, and the Catholics

united with the Protestants in accompanying to his final resting-place a man who had honored both Protestantism and his country.

The second question agitated among the Protestants after 1830 concerned, as we have said, the separation of Church and State. The revolution of 1789 made a distinction between the temporal and the spiritual power. It confined the priest in his proper sphere, the magistrate in his, and separated the citizen from the believer. But was this enough? Should the State longer consider the Church or the churches any thing but private societies, free institutions, which live under the common right of protection, conforming themselves to general law, and receiving no salary for their ministers? Or, again, should it treat with these institutions, confer upon them, by its alliance and official character, and place them, relatively to other associations, in a privileged position?

It is a great question: it concerns the interests of government and religion, and its solution involves their gravest problems. We understand how men equally enlightened, sincere, and pious, may adopt in this controversy different opinions. Catholicism has taken an interest in it as well as Protestantism. MM. de Lamennais and de Lamartine have declared themselves for the complete separation of the two powers. The same policy has been advocated in the Protestant communion by a thinker of the first order, whose name merits a place with the greatest—M. Vinet. Although he did not belong to the French Reformation, either by his birth, adoption, or residence, he wrote for it, influenced it, and a few lines about him will not here be out of place.

M. Alexandre Vinet was born in a village of the Canton Vaud. He pursued his studies at Lausanne, and, while still young, filled the chair of Literature in the University of Basle.

It was a fortunate situation for such a mind; for, placed on the frontier of the two principal civilizations of the Continent, he could borrow from both their best qualities, impressing upon it all the seal of that manly independence which is felt instinctively in the most ancient republic of Europe. He borrowed science from Germany, clearness of judgment and of language from France, the sentiment of liberty from his own country, the faith which purifies and rectifies all, from the Gospel, and from these different elements his eminently original genius formed a harmonious whole, which can be more easily imagined than described.

As a refined scholar, few writers of our time have equalled him, and no one has excelled him, at least in the essential qualifications of criticism. He was more fond of discovering and pointing out the beauties of literary works than their defects, and we are surprised at the eulogiums with which he sometimes extolled indifferent writings. It was because he was naturally pleased with the good and the beautiful, and because, whenever he met the faintest image of it, he made it resplendent by the contact of his own genius. M. Vinet praised in others, unconsciously, the qualifications he had himself inspired.

His style has been appreciated in these terms by M. Sainte-Beuve, one of the most competent judges in such matters: "He has an originality which reproduces and condenses happily the qualities of French Switzerland; and at the same time, he has a language, in general excellent, Attic in its manner, and which bears the perfume of our sweetest flowers. If I dared to express all I thought, I should say that, after M. Dannon of the ancient school, after M. Villemain for the more recent, he is, in my judgment, of all the French writers, the one who has most closely analyzed his models, dissected and unmasked the language,

discovered its limits and its centre, and indicated its variable and genuine acceptations."¹

As a preacher, he broke away from old forms of sermonizing, and approached the hearer of the nineteenth century without leaving, for a single instant, the ground of Christianity; or, rather, he better preserved the principle of unity in the Gospel, by making just concessions on minor points. "There was in his discourses," says a writer, "an earnestness and power peculiar to himself. . . . He endeavored in the beginning to refrain himself, but his tone soon rose: his words flowed more rapidly; every accent of his musical and vibrating voice spread the emotion with which he glowed, and the care he took to conceal himself, to hide behind the truths he announced, gave a better expression to his genius, so pure, so true, so original."²

As a Christian, he was of Pascal's school in penetration and depth of thought, and of Fenelon's in the mildness and native candor of his faith. But one of his characteristics surpassed even his piety and genius—it was his humility. How could a man who so well discerned the qualities of others, be so completely ignorant of his own? It was because he judged others with his heart, and judged himself with his conscience. For them he had the kindness of charity, and for himself all the severity of perfection.

The 4th of May, 1847, M. Alexandre Vinet gave up his soul to God. He left many disciples, but he has yet had not a single successor.

The Protestant press, under the reign of Louis-Philippe, was enriched with a few works of real merit. The History of the Reformation has been treated with remarkable talent. The pul-

¹ *Critique et portraits littéraires*, t. V. pp. 143, 147.

² *The Spectator*, t. XVII. p. 141.

pit has counted a few good models. Periodical literature has not been entirely without value; and if France has paid little attention to these works, the fault is less, perhaps, to be attributed to the Protestant preachers and writers, than to the hereditary prejudices which still weigh heavily upon Protestantism itself in our country.

Several benevolent institutions were established in this period, and sustained by voluntary subscriptions. Orphans of both sexes, old men, the sick, children deprived of instruction, those whom justice was obliged to condemn, and other unfortunate persons, were the objects of active and liberal solicitude, and gave proof of Protestant charity, which is traduced only by men who do not know it.

The religious societies, properly so called, pursued their labors, and found their contributions increasing.

The Bible, disseminated by the hand of colporteurs, as in the beginning of the French Reformation, spread light and life afar. The scattered Protestants were summoned, assembled, and instructed. The Evangelical Society augmented from year to year the number of its agents. The Society of Missions sent to the south of Africa zealous servants of the Gospel, who bore to savage hordes, with all the hopes of Christian faith, the most useful arts of civilized nations.

Among those who showed the most zeal and devotion for the conversion of the heathen, was one whose name should not be forgotten—that of Admiral Ver-Huell.

Born in Holland, he had become a Frenchman by his great military services, and by letters of naturalization, which were their recompense. At the camp of Boulogne he had been charged with the organization of the Batavian flotilla, and in several engagements gave brilliant proofs of coolness, intelligence, and bravery. He carried an army through an English

fleet which poured into his squadron the fire of nine hundred guns. This heroic exploit filled the hundred and sixty thousand men who lined the borders of the ocean with enthusiasm.

Napoleon felt the highest esteem for Admiral Ver-Huell, and it was to his care he desired to intrust, after the disastrous day of Waterloo, his person and his fortune to be carried to America. It was refused to him under frivolous pretexts. "If this mission had been confided to Ver-Huell, as they had promised me," said the prisoner of St. Helena, "it is probable that he would have succeeded."

The Admiral Ver-Huell was appointed minister of State, ambassador, peer of France; but let us leave his political life;—the religious side of his character is the only part which belongs to this history. The veteran sailor was one of the most active members of all the religious societies; he assisted them with his purse, his example, and the influence of his name. He loved especially, as his own children, the scholars of the House of Missions, and followed them with a paternal love in their distant and perilous apostleship.

President of the Society of Missions, the anniversary of the general assemblies was a fête-day for him. "What a pure and simple joy sparkled in his eyes," says a writer who was well acquainted with him, "when the deputies of the auxiliary societies, or some friend of the missions, assured the committee of his sympathy for the work, and addressed him Christian congratulations! How very true and profoundly felt was the discourse he was accustomed to pronounce at the opening of the session! Eighteen times in twenty-three years he occupied the president's chair at the general assembly, and each time he read on the occasion a discourse which bore the impress of his pious heart and his energetic soul. . . .

"When a friend entered his house, his countenance, which

we have never seen covered with clouds, suddenly grew bright. His look became animated, his voice took an accent of peculiar mildness; there was in the demonstrations of his friendship something which combined at the same time the open-heartedness of the sailor, the dignity of the general of an army, the politeness of the man of the world, the simplicity and truth of the Christian. . . . Goodness was the soul of his sentiments, his character, his entire life; it made a part of him; it was himself,—kindness, simple, frank, affectionate, cordial; kindness, inexhaustible in its source and in its effects; kindness, disinterested in its principle and persevering in its fruits; kindness, which knew no suspicion of evil, and which saw it neither in men nor in things.”¹

Admiral Ver-Huell was taken from his friends and from the Church the 25th of October, 1845. He was aged sixty-nine years.

We might notice in the internal state of the Reformed communion a few facts more, such as the establishment of separate bodies, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Dissenters of several denominations. But these were only local manifestations, and of little extent; which, while offering in their own bosom examples of a lively faith and pious devotion, had no influence upon the general state of French Protestantism.

IX.

We are now at the end of our task. The Revolution of 1848 has exercised till the present time no important influence upon the Reformed communion, taken as a whole. There have been

¹ M. Grandpierre, *Notice sur le vice-amiral Ver-Huell*, p. 88 and *passim*.

more than forty millions. Thus, in fine, all the French will be free and equal in religion, as they are in politics."

In the midst of the universal agitation of minds and institutions, every thing was possible. The defenders of the communions officially recognized, were held in restless expectation, ready to suffer the separation if it was pronounced by the Constituent Assembly, but intimating their preferences for the maintenance of the union.

Several delegates of the Reformed churches assembled, of their own accord, at Paris, in the month of May, 1848. They had been summoned partly by the common exigencies and apprehensions. There was no regularity in the origin of their mission; some had been appointed by unanimous vote, others by the consistories, or even by the presidents of the consistories. There was no proportion, besides, in the representation; certain churches, near Paris, sent five or six delegates for a single consistorial division; other churches, on the contrary, had sent only one for three or four consistories. There was no uniformity, either, in the powers of the delegates; some were authorized to enter thoroughly into ecclesiastical discussions, and others prohibited. Such an assembly could only prepare the way for a body more regularly chosen by the members of legal Protestantism.

They were first occupied with the question of the relations between the Church and the State, and the great majority declared themselves in favor of maintaining the alliance, reserving expressly the dignity and the liberty of the Church. They next made an electoral rule for the formation of an assembly which, having titles well authenticated, could treat on current affairs.

This new assembly opened its session the 11th of September, 1848. The members had been elected by the suffrage of two classes, the mass of the flocks having designated the electors charged with the choice of delegates. Each one of the ninety-

two consistorial churches had been invited to appoint a delegate, ecclesiastical or lay. Three consistories only declined, besides the two Faculties of Theology of Montauban and Strasbourg, who sent no representation. The assembly numbered only from seventy to eighty members. It was, moreover, merely an assembly for counsel. It could rest on no legal basis. The government did not recognize it, and the churches were entirely free to accept its resolutions or to reject them.

Long and serious debates were held on the question of the Confessions of Faith. At last, by an almost unanimous vote, the assembly decided that, conformably to the wish of the generality of the churches, it would not touch doctrinal matters, and that the question should be postponed to a more propitious time. An address was prepared, in which, while avoiding the decision of controverted doctrinal points in one sense or another, the majority expressed their common belief.

A few members protested against this conclusion, and seceded. They have since formed, with the Independent Congregations which already existed, a new religious society, under the name of *Union des Eglises Evangéliques de France*. Their special synod opened the 29th of August, 1849: it drew up a profession of faith, and an ecclesiastical constitution for the Socié which it represented.

After disposing of doctrinal questions, the General Assembly of September discussed a project of organization for a legal establishment. It laid down universal suffrage, with certain restrictions, as the basis of the scheme, recognized each particular church as an essential element of the Presbyterian system, preserved the institution of the general consistories, subjected them to the special synods, and demanded for a centre and crown of the ecclesiastical edifice, a General Synod, which should assemble at regular intervals.

This plan of organization, communicated to the minister of worship, has not yet been acted on. We do not suppose that it will become the object of a legislative proposition. The churches themselves have had different opinions on several of the articles it contains, and have shown little desire for its support from the government.

While Protestantism attempted to modify its internal régime, and its relations with the civil authority, the National Assembly was discussing the Constitution. It adopted the two following articles: "Every one professes freely his religion, and receives from the State, for the exercise of his worship, an equal protection. The ministers of the religions at present recognized by the law, and of those which may be recognized for the future, have the right to receive a stipend from the State."

We may remark, that the Catholic religion is no longer named in the Constitution. Not only has it ceased to be the religion of the State, but it has not even preserved the distinction which had been left it in the Corcordat of Napoleon, and the Charter of 1830,—that of being designated as the religion of the majority of the French. No privilege, therefore, for Catholicism, no appearance of privilege; full, perfect, absolute equality between all acknowledged worships, so that the Constitution would be violated, if the government granted to the Roman Church any pre-eminence whatever. Three centuries of efforts and struggles were necessary to secure the registration of this grand decision of justice in the laws, and perhaps there is still need of its being better apprehended and better applied in moral life. A people educated in Catholicism, reduces to practice with more difficulty than any other complete equality of religious communions.

It is to be remarked, besides, that this equality exists only for the worships which are or may be recognized by the State. The advocates of separation have not been satisfied, and the question

of the suppression of the *budget des cultes* continues to be agitated by a few organs of the religious and political press. It is a problem which the future will solve.

The conduct of the different administrations which have presided over the destinies of France, since the Revolution of 1848, has given cause for more than one protest, either on the part of the Societies and Independent churches, or of official Protestantism. But we shall not dwell upon facts which date from yesterday. The country is in a period of crisis and transition; nothing is settled, and this vacillation explains many things, without, however, justifying them. We will hope that liberty and equality of religion will at last prevail in popular opinion, as they have prevailed in the laws, and become a sovereign maxim of conduct for rulers as well as citizens.

French Protestantism has written almost nothing within the last two years. It is wrapt in meditation on grand political events; it observes, it waits. New ideas are working there as elsewhere. What will be the result? God only knows; for us it is enough to know that God reigns. He has given the Reformed churches of France days of faith and triumph; he has protected them, during long generations, against the blows of persecutors; and his hand, which has protected the fathers, will not abandon their children.

FINIS.





